THE HUSSEIN PLAN HERBERT KROSNEY

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GETTING SERIOUS ABOUT GUNS

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EDITORIALS

CAMPAIGN '72

Defections and Taxes

President Nixon is threatened with disaffection on the right and left flanks of the Republican Party. Rep. John Ashbrook and his friends the Buckleys are less than enchanted with the present "tilt" of Administration policy. Media experts have written off Ashbrook's vote in the New Hampshire and Florida primaries as insignificant, but we may be sure that the President does not view it so. This year he does not need right-wing financial support—he is said to have a war chest of $20 million—but right-wing abstentions could cost him 250,000 votes in California. Nor does the disaffection of the Right attract liberal Republicans to his standard. The latest defector on that side is Rep. Ogden Reid, who has announced that he cannot, in all conscience, support the President, and will seek re-election to a tenth term in the House from New York's 24th Congressional District as a Democrat. As owners and publishers of the New York *Herald Tribune* for over a century, the Reids occupy a prominent place in the history of the Republican Party. During its finest moments, the *Herald Tribune* was the voice of liberal Republicanism, which might be said to be a New York innovation. Mr. Reid, like Mayor Lindsay, obviously feels that there is no longer a place for him in the Republican Party of Nixon, Mitchell, Agnew and Goldwater. The significance of these defections is not minimized by the fact that both Reid and Lindsay came to feel that they had brighter political futures in the Democratic Party in New York. Neither would have turned Democrat if it had been possible to remain a Republican. While it is unlikely that their defection will stimulate a mass exodus of active politicians, many liberal Republicans will find it difficult to vote for Nixon for substantially the same reasons that prompted Reid and Lindsay to change sides.

The tendency toward realignment, which the Reid and Lindsay decisions indicate, would be more evident were it not for Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's covert alliance with the Conservative Party in New York. Politicians who lust after the Presidency will do almost anything to achieve their objective. Rockefeller's present obvious eagerness to be tapped for the Vice Presidency marks a low point in his distinguished career. In 1960, Nixon came to him, hat in hand, to negotiate "The Treaty of Fifth Avenue," and in 1964 he gallantly defied the Goldwaterites in San Francisco's Cow Palace. Turnabouts of this kind are never becoming, nor is the Governor's current flirtation with Nixon likely to pay off, since it would be difficult to dump Agnew.

But while the trend toward realignment is obscured by crosscurrents and the strange alliances dictated by personal ambitions, it is nevertheless proceeding. For all the veneer of modernity that Nixon has attempted to give the GOP, its center of power is shifting from the Eastern seaboard to the missile crescent states that stretch from Florida through Texas and Arizona to Southern California. Nowadays "old families," such as the Reids, are being displaced by the *nouveau riche* of the Southwest. As the liberal Republican influence wanes, the power and patronage of such men as Goldwater and Tower steadily increase; that no doubt explains why they, unlike the Ashbrooks and Buckleys, are satisfied with the present leadership and direction of the party.

In addition to Reid's defection, Democratic prospects in New York have been strengthened by Richard L. Ottinger's decision to seek re-election to the House—he gave up his seat in 1970 to run for the Senate—from the newly created 23rd Congressional District. If Allard K. Lowenstein should succeed in his bold bid to replace Rep. John J. Rooney as the Democratic nominee in the 14th Congressional District, liberal leadership in the party would be much strengthened. But that will be an uphill fight. Rooney has represented the district for fifteen years and, as Meade H. Esposito, the Brooklyn Democratic leader, puts it, "This guy represents $200 million for Brooklyn," i.e., in federal funds channeled to assorted projects. Unhappily, Rep. Bella Abzug, whose district was carved up by a fancy Republican gerrymander, will now run against Rep. William F. Ryan in the 20th Congressional District, whereas she might have run against Rooney but for Lowenstein's candidacy. That will pit one fine Representative against another—a contest that should somehow have been avoided.

* * *

George Wallace's constant yakking about taxes has finally forced the Democrats to pay close attention to what could be their best issue this year: the need for basic reform in the federal tax structure. Now the Democrats are beginning to take the issue from Wallace, who has no program, and to press it against Nixon who is most reluctant even to talk about tax reform, despite a $44.7 billion deficit. Senators McGovern, Muskie, Nelson, Humphrey, Rep. Henry Reuss and others are pressing various proposals for such reform. But, as the Committee for a More Effective Congress notes, "there is no such thing as painless tax reform—somebody's ox will be gored, including prominent Democrats." Despite this evident risk, the Democrats are forced to raise the issue not merely to counter Wallace and badger the President but because the need has become so obvious that it can no longer be deferred.

The Democrats now advancing a variety of proposals might study Governor Askew's approach. Askew, it may be recalled, induced Florida voters to adopt, by a nearly 3-to-1 margin, a corporate income tax. Apparently many voters approve of the idea of shifting a larger share of the tax burden to corporations, which have political influence but do not vote. A recent speech by Rep. Charles Vanik (D., Ohio) calls attention to some of the benefits which the Revenue Act of 1971, billed as a reform measure, has conferred on corporations. U.S. Steel carried on an annual business of $5 billion in 1971 and showed a net income of $154,515,754, but paid not a penny in federal income tax, thanks primarily to "statutory deductions associated with mineral production and investment credits." He also cites the 1971 report of Westvaco, a timber and paper company, which had $430 million in sales last year, reported a net income of $4,016,000 but paid no federal income tax and received a tax refund of $7,695,000. Here, too, significant investment tax credits

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were a prime factor. In 1971 corporate profits increased by $10 billion to $85.9 billion before taxes. It is difficult, therefore, to quarrel with Mr. Vanik's contention that the Administration and Congress are moving toward "dismemberment of the corporate tax system."

Pressure for tax reform exploits two moods that are running strong within the electorate this year. One, as *The Wall Street Journal* notes, is "rising anger about high taxes of all sorts," the other "a growing conviction that the economic system is rigged to benefit the wealthy at the expense of the average citizen." Screaming against taxes, as Wallace does, is a futile exercise; the tax bill will remain high, regardless. But there is nothing demagogic or futile in the proposition that corporate and big-business interests must shoulder a larger share of the burden and that taxes should be used to secure a redistribution of wealth. What happens in this election will determine whether real tax reform can be expected in 1973. (It would be a miracle if it happened in 1972, an election year with a Republican in the White House and Democrats in control of Congress.) With the leading candidates for the Presidency now stressing tax reform as an issue, it should be possible to induce the convention to take a strong stand in favor of a radical reform program. If Nixon is re-elected the prospects for reform will be dimmed, even though the Democrats retain control of both houses. Voters who complain about high taxes, and most of them do, should be reminded that 1973 is the critical year for tax reform, but whether it comes even then will depend largely on the outcome of this election, which may well turn on the degree to which the Democrats stress the issue. [See articles p. 455 and p. 467.]

* * *

As a postscript, it is worth noting that in the recent Illinois primary, Rep. Abner Mikva, by a 2-to-1 margin, defeated Nicholas Blase, a member of the Daley-bossed Democratic Central Committee. Blase opposed the introduction of low-income housing into the district; Mikva took the position that he was opposed to building walls between peoples. Blase favored a constitutional amendment against bussing; Mikva said he thought bussing could work. Belatedly, politicians are beginning to sense that "anti-bussing" is not a sure ticket to victory at the polls.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

To Him Who Hath

A spokesman for Richard Nixon angrily denounces George Meany and other members of the Pay Board who have quit in disgust over the Administration's double standard of wage and price controls. The immediate issue is the board's veto of the settlement agonizingly negotiated by Harry Bridges and his West Coast longshoremen's union and the Pacific Maritime Association. The Nixon party line is that a few cantankerous labor leaders should not be allowed to interefere with the President's latest economic game plan.

His double standard becomes more transparent by the day. The Nixon Pay Board says that the longshoremen (many of them black, others brown; none of them rich)

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who do hard and sometimes dangerous physical labor should be denied a wage increase in one vital sector of transportation. But the board takes no action whatsoever when a whopping increase is awarded in another important sector of transportation—this one without any negotiations at all. In the proxy statement prepared by the management of Trans World Airlines, its stockholders are informed of a huge pay rise for the company's chairman and chief executive officer—some 75 per cent over a three-year period. Charles Tillinghast will have his salary boosted from $100,640 to $125,000 in 1972; $150,000 in 1973, and $175,000 in 1975 (plus stock options, generous retirement, and other fringe benefits). F. C. Wiser, second in command, will also prosper. Within the next four years his pay will be doubled. He got $95,337 in 1971. That will be raised to $120,000 in 1972, followed by annual increases of $20,000 at least until 1976, when he is guaranteed $180,000, plus the usual extras that accompany high executive status.

There are double ironies to the situation. Much of the substantial salary increase is justified on the ground that Tillinghast and Wiser were responsible for what is being touted on Wall Street as a dramatic turnaround in the airline's fortunes. There is no doubt that the balance sheet of 1971 is far different from that posted in 1970. Just a year ago, TWA's losses were among the largest any airline has ever experienced. In 1971 the red ink was erased, and the airline showed a modest profit. But who was in charge during the period when the losses were incurred? None other than the present management team—those men who modestly take credit for righting the ills of the previous year.

The embarrassing fact is that a large portion of the balance sheet improvement resulted from an event that those gentlemen sought to prevent: the cancellation of the government-subsidized SST. Tillinghast, as much as any other airline executive, urged the continuance of that ill-conceived scheme. Following cancellation, and at the behest of the airlines, special legislation was introduced to refund to the airlines the money they had contributed toward building the prototype of the SST—$1 million for each delivery position held. Through this legislation the taxpayers gave TWA some $18 million, despite the fact that Tillinghast (and other SST proponents) had publicly stated that the payments were risk money and showed the airline's faith in the government-developed SST. Thus manager Tillinghast will be rewarded for a dramatic financial windfall which he did what he could to prevent and which comes directly from the taxpayers' pockets.

If this fact does not disturb Nixon's Pay Board, its double standard will become even more evident. Some may see in its inaction evidence that the Administration wants desperately to court the favor of powerful businessmen and that it is contemptuous of the economic anxieties of men who work with their hands. And some may believe that it is not entirely coincidental that Tillinghast, once an antitrust lawyer, recently wrote a letter to *The New York Times* in which he purported to see nothing wrong with the fact that high officials in the Justice Department had held private conversations with ITT executives when antitrust proceedings against the company were pending.

Oil: Politics and Patriotism

The OPEC—that's the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, made up of six countries around the Persian Gulf, three countries in Africa, plus Venezuela and Indonesia—has started acting in a way that the international oil companies, which have been exploiting the Arabs since before World War I, never thought possible.

First, noting unhappily that they were receiving only $1 out of each $14 paid by Western consumers for the oil originating in OPEC countries, the producing nations early in 1971 demanded a stiff increase in their royalty payments. They won that round, but weren't satisfied. On March 12 of this year they forced the Arabian American Oil Company, better known as Aramco (a consortium of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, Texaco and Mobil) to surrender to six of the OPEC nations—the ones around the Persian Gulf—20 per cent of the ownership of Aramco's operations in that area. And the countries are pressing for 51 per cent ownership before the decade is out.

This new agreement may signal the end, or at least the beginning of the end, of the old oil imperialism. In the past, when such storm clouds came over the horizon, the international giants could counterploy by enforcing a shutdown of the rebellious country's oil exports (as they did most dramatically in Iran after Mossadegh's nationalization of the oil companies in 1951), or by shifting their investments to another sector of the Mideast-African oil world, playing one nation against the other.

But the oil internationalists are not nearly as smart as they think they are; in fact, their present troubles arise in part from their past "cleverness." Because the Persian Gulf nations had been troublesome in the late 1950s, the companies were delighted to make big oil discoveries in North Africa in the early 1960s. They thought that Libya and Algeria, with their vast reserves right on the doorstep of the European market, would be highly useful to play off against the restless natives of the Persian Gulf.

So the companies poured development money into North Africa, with the result that by 1967 Libya was supplying one-third of Europe's oil and Algeria was even more important, specifically to France. But the Algerians and Libyans weren't as docile as the oil giants thought; seeing how crucial their oil was to Europe, the North Africans decided they could, with impunity, establish their rights. Algeria seized 51 per cent of all foreign oil holdings and Libya is now in the process of demanding the same (it has already expropriated the holdings of one of its largest exploiters, British Petroleum Oil Co.).

That is one reason why Aramco—encouraged by the State Department to "isolate the radicals of North Africa"—decided to share the ownership of their operations with the six Arab nations. Having built the Algerian-Libyan monster, our Frankenstein oilmen are now trying to escape from it and get back to the sheikhs whom they have always been able to buy off, one way or another.

But this time the manipulations seem unlikely to work as they have in the past. The African-Mideast producers—sitting on top of most of the oil (not counting the United States and Canada) in the non-Communist world—appear to be on the way to controlling their own destinies at last.

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All of this has very little to do directly with the U.S. consumer. We get only about 20 per cent of our oil from foreign sources and all but about 3 per cent of that comes from Canada and Venezuela. But the oil giants nevertheless are pretending that the Africa-Mideast threat to their pocketbook is a threat to our national security and national pride. They demand that the government become more militantly involved in the dispute. It's the patriotic thing to do.

John McLean, president of Continental Oil Company, recently wrote in *The New York Times*: "To meet this growing collective effort among major oil supplying countries [for a fair share of the profits], we must marshal massive countervailing power on the consumer-country side of the table. We urgently need a strong framework for collective action at top diplomatic levels on behalf of the consuming nations."

That this is a dangerous suggestion was shown by Great Britain's response to Libya's nationalization of British Petroleum Company's holdings. The British Government owns 51 per cent of BP, so Libya's actions were viewed by the politicians in London as an assault upon the British treasury.

They have assisted BP in closing down much of the Libyan operation and in blocking that nation's potential market outlets. In desperation, Libya—like Egypt in the days when it was seeking our help to build the Aswan dam—has gone to the enemies of the West. Frank Gardner reports in the *Oil and Gas Journal* (March 13): "Libya is determined to show the world that she can operate her oil industry on her own. Help in that direction hasn't been forthcoming from the West, so she turns to the Russians and Romanians for help."

Not pressure, but sympathy and help is what the West should be giving these emerging nations. If they seem to be possessive about the oil, perhaps that's because it's theirs, and they have a right to charge whatever they want for it. If the consuming nations don't like the price, they can develop other energy sources. They can, for example, develop shale oil and synthetic oil from coal, which the oil companies have so far refused to do only because they have preferred the heretofore easier way of profiteering in the OPEC countries.

ROBERT SHERRILL

Chewing Up the Heritage

Even as strip mining becomes a national conservation issue, people in the already decapitated mountains of Appalachia are looking to Washington for relief from the bulldozer and giant earth-moving machine. The hope is not high.

Two Congressional subcommittees are currently "working up" bills for possible action by the House and Senate this session, although such speed is improbable. The bills under consideration in the closed sessions range from the decisive (outright abolition of stripping within six months) by Rep. Ken Hechler, (D., W.Va.) to the mild and gutless (by the Administration).

Some measure will get to Congress; the question is how effective it will be. And from their experience of the industry-oriented hearings of the House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining and the Senate Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels, people in the coal fields are not optimistic. The warning is thus posted for the rest of the nation, whose coal reserves wait to be gouged out from the ground.

The eastern Kentucky and West Virginia mountaineers have always been hit first and hardest by minerals exploitation. With the infamous broad-form deed in their hands, the strippers have blithely torn out the coal, giving no mind to the consent or feeling of the natives. "A national fuel crisis," the industry cries. And reclamation, their polished and expensive ads boast, creates homesites, cattle pastures, recreation areas.

As for the alleged fuel crisis (which many think is a trumped-up alarm to achieve higher gas rates), all the coal needed is underground, minable by methods that employ six times as many men. The deep mines are, to be sure, deathtraps. But if the small deep mines were relieved of the economic squeeze caused by stripping operations, the owners could give some attention to health and life and not make production quotas the sole business of their agenda.

The pretense of reclamation is a cruel hoax to the people who can see the results. Kentucky, for example, claims to have the best reclamation law in the nation, and that may be so. In practice, though, the law has been an ineffective wrist slapper for the operator who goes too far, and produces unfavorable publicity for state politicians who know how strong the underlying popular sentiment is against stripping. The motto is, go ahead, but don't get caught.

As oil firms buy out coal companies and reserves, and as the bulldozers begin to head west, the need for decisive federal action is critical. It may be too late to save the Cumberlands, or what is left of them, but there are still the Hopi holy lands, the Wyoming hills, the Arizona desert. And there are hills left in Appalachia, each of which contains far more heritage than coal for the people in their hollows.

PHIL PRIMACK

Riding in Salinas

California is being dragged, somewhat raucously, into the second half of the 20th century [see Mary Ellen Leary: "The New State of California," *The Nation*, March 27], but the vigilantes keep their horses saddled. They rode most recently in Salinas, lettuce capital of the country, but now also the site of Firestone Rubber, Nestlé Chocolate and Smucker Jelly factories, when the father of a high school student discovered that his son was reading Piri Thomas' *Down These Mean Streets* in an elective course, "Literature of the Forgotten American," given by one of the few black teachers in the city's public school system.

The book is an autobiography of a Puerto Rican who grew up in New York's barrio to be a junkie, thief and convict, and who survived to tell his story. *Down These Mean Streets* employs the language of those streets, and the pictures it draws are by no means genteel. It is written without excuses and without apology, and has won critical endorsement in *The New York Times, Life* and *The Nation*, among other publications. Whether or

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not it can be read to advantage by high school students would depend on the quality of the teacher and the relative maturity of the students themselves. On its use in this particular course we have no opinion, but neither is that the point.

Salinas has an active branch of the Birch Society and a conservative newspaper, *The Californian*. The Birchers put out a leaflet, quoting selectively from the book, the newspaper took up the issue as a campaign, and soon racism, prurience and panic were clattering through Salinas. The city also has local branches of the NAACP and the Civil Liberties Union and Hartnell College, but in the ensuing furor little was heard from these presumed centers of reason. Instead, citizens who wrote letters to the paper in protest against hysterical book banning (few of the would-be censors had actually read Thomas' work) received visits from leaders of the action, notably a couple of real estate developers, who offered to make a "personal issue" of the controversy.

The school board appointed a nine-member committee to hold a public hearing. This was convened on March 13, and proved to be a bedlam in which the arguments of the school authorities were drowned out by the excesses of the witch hunters, whose eloquent use of such words as "nigger," Communist, "spade" and "faggot" somewhat belied their professed horror of the obscenity in the book. That night and on subsequent days loud demands were made for broadside firings in the local school administration and threats coupled the fate of the book with a pending vote on school tax matters.

The hearing board recommended to trustees of the Salinas Union High School District that the book be retained in the curriculum; the trustees voted it out, one of them summing up the board's attitude by expressing his concern that the book had reached the classroom without "someone realizing it's controversial." The students taking the course said "it's time we were allowed to find out about life and make our own decisions. . . . All we ask is freedom to hear [both] sides." Not this year in Salinas.

THE HUSSEIN PLAN

HERBERT KROSNEY

Jerusalem

King Hussein's recent plan for a federated United Arab Kingdom has been greeted on both sides with the predictable negative reactions. For all that, the plan offers a departure point for serious thinking; it certainly shouldn't be dismissed out of hand.

The proposal, which would in effect create a Palestinian entity within the Hashemite Kingdom, to be linked with Transjordan to the east, and possibly including Gaza (parts of Sinai were also not ruled out by the King), must first be viewed in terms of internal problems now critical for Hussein.

It is in the first place a bid for Palestinian support on the West Bank at a time when the Israeli-sponsored elections in this area [see Krosney: "Giving Peace a Chance," *The Nation*, February 7], at the start strenuously opposed by the Hashemites, seem to be succeeding beyond any Israeli expectations. Some 141 candidates have entered their names on the lists; they represent *all* the West Bank cities where elections were proposed. Some of these candidate favor a further relationship with Jordan; many are opposed; all favor a total review of that relationship. The King could well face a *de jure* dismemberment of his post-1948 kingdom, as decided by the Palestinians themselves, in addition to a *de facto* loss, as a result of the Six Day War.

Palestinian feeling against the King remains strong: the brief sampling I have taken indicates that the King's popularity remains at a point as low as it was after the Jordanian civil war, when Palestinians here believed that the Jordanian Army had slaughtered their brethren (not just the "guerrillas") in the impoverished refugee camps on the East Bank. Only the Mayor of Gaza, which had never been included in Jordan in the first place, indicated approval of the King's idea. (I understand, however, that some of his constituents declared that they "preferred Dayan to Hussein.") Furthermore, Palestinians here definitely feel some kind of bond of friendship with the Jews, however profound the ideological differences. I find that, when it comes to talking frankly about problems, it is no longer advisable for me to speak English with Arabs in Jerusalem; many, unbelievably, find it more comfortable to swear at the King in Hebrew. I do not see this new attitude as merely reflecting the mentality typical of the occupied and the subject; it indicates, I think, a bond of common interest between Jews and Palestinians—the people living here.

The Israeli leadership, for its part, reacted to the plan with a knee-jerk automatism which is, to say the least, disturbing. How much of the response was for public consumption, how much to ward off pressures from the right-wing Gahal party, remains to be determined. From the Israeli viewpoint, the King's plan omits two factors. For one, Israel rightly insists that the Jordan River must be its security, as opposed to political, border. [See Krosney: "A Talk With Yigal Allon," *The Nation*, May 3, 1971.] The border details, as well as the outlines of future economic cooperation, are obviously not public matters, but subjects for future diplomatic negotiation.

Second, there is the all-important question of the future status of Jerusalem. The Israelis swear that it shall never again be divided, that it is the eternal capital of Israel, and that it must remain under exclusive Jewish control. I am not sure that a plan for joint sovereignty is practical, although a gesture of recognition of Arab demands, above and beyond the status of the Muslim holy places, might well insure peace in the region for a period of centuries. An Israeli friend claims that the King was obviously not serious in his proposal because he suggested Jerusalem as the capital of his Palestinian entity.

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Even accepting the Israeli argument in full, it seems to me that we are still at a starting point for negotiations. Why couldn't Israel welcome talks based on the Jordanian plans and their own counterproposals, and then suggest Nablus, truly the economic, and in a large sense the spiritual, capital of the West Bank, as the proposed capital for Jordan's Palestinian entity? Everything is negotiable, the Israelis have said time and again, and the King's plan is also negotiable. It is at least a beginning.

The important thing is to get to the conference table. The plan of the Jordanian King has the positive advantage that it recognizes Palestinian nationalism and offers a solution to it. The proposal's chief weakness is that most Palestinians, inside Israeli territory as well as outside, detest its sponsor. A second weak point is that the King never mentioned Israel in his proposal, though it is the party with which peace must be concluded. However, that only reinforces the impression that he was speaking for internal consumption, and from the standpoint of practical Arab politics. But if Israel, as Golda Meir has often proclaimed, prefers to negotiate with Arab states only and not with the Palestinians, King Hussein has provided a basis for doing so. It is not enough to react negatively to any and all Arab proposals. □

TAX REFORM: THE BIG ISSUE

ROBERT W. DIETSCH
Mr. Dietsch is with the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance in Washington, D.C.

No matter who wins in November, the major political issue next year will be federal taxes. The reason is already evident: the government is running out of money. If it intends to maintain, and increase, the domestic programs which a majority of Americans want and need—more money for schools, for manpower training, for environmental cleanup, for child care and health care—Uncle Sam will have to improve tax revenues. The alternative is to go deeper into debt, which might not be as desperate a solution as it sounds (in proportion to the gross national product, the federal debt is no greater than it was twenty years ago), but the prospect of hefty federal deficits (they were almost $90 billion in three Nixon years) distresses the international community, to the detriment of American exports and free world money markets. So the basic question remains: how do we increase tax revenues?

The battle lines are being drawn even now. The Administration has made clear that it likes a value added tax, which is nothing more than a national sales tax. Any sales tax, however dressed up, is a regressive tax, bearing hardest upon low- and middle-income families. The tax system is much too regressive today, and VAT would make it worse. A few politicians, not up for election in 1972, have suggested increasing income taxes, thus reversing a trend which since World War II has cut these taxes five times. As President Nixon took pains to emphasize in his latest budget message, ". . . in 1973, individuals will pay $22 billion less in federal income taxes than they would if the tax rates and structure were the same as those in existence when I took office."

Then there are those who once again are advocating tax reform, which means tightening up the long array of loopholes and subsidies that erode the present tax base by at least $63 billion a year. The reformers have already been busy, threatening to prevent a further increase in the federal debt ceiling unless the Administration first outlines its ideas on tax reform. They have moved to block routine passage of minor tax bills in the House until some tax reform movement is generated. The reformers, quite properly, say taxes need not be raised; closing loopholes would raise the money needed.

Campaigns for tax reform have occurred in the past, usually to little avail, but this time the movement may be stronger. At least, that skilled political wind-sniffer, Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, seems to think so. His apprehension may be measured by the ferocity with which he has attacked the notion that the tax system is perforated with loopholes and in need of major repair. Connally has even redefined a loophole, insisting that a tax provision which "saves" people or business money isn't a loophole if the saving was, in fact, what Congress intended when it enacted the provision. Thus in Connally's view, the oil depletion allowance isn't a loophole, nor is the tax-exempt status of municipal bonds. It would be wrong, in his opinion, to change those sections of tax law.

Under his definition, a tax loophole exists only when benefits that Congress never intended come to pass; these, as he well knows, are few and closing them would not generate substantial revenue. It is a fact, of course, that what the public and Congressional tax reformers call loopholes are usually referred to as "tax preferences" by scholars. But by whatever semantics, reforming the present federal tax structure is certain to figure in next year's tax debates. The struggle will be the sharper because the "fiscal dividend" which had been expected with the winding down and end of the war in Vietnam has all but disappeared.

The federal budget would be even deeper in the red were it not for the recent increased reliance on payroll taxes. In fiscal 1964, the government obtained 38 per cent of its revenues from personal income taxes, 19 per cent from corporate income taxes and 14 per cent from employment taxes (mainly Social Security). The rest came from sales taxes and borrowing. In fiscal 1973, the revenue take will again come 38 per cent from individual income taxes, but only 14 per cent from corporate income taxes and 26 per cent from employment taxes (again mainly Social Security).

A thing to note about these figures is that, while the percentage of take from individual income taxes has re-

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mained the same, that from corporate income taxes has declined. One reason for the drop is the recent recession; another is that liberalized depreciation allowances have tended to reduce corporate profits (but not corporate cash). Another change worth noting is the sharp increase of employment taxes, again the type that falls hardest on the lower- and middle-income families. As Thomas F. Field, executive director of the organization, Taxation With Representation, has said: "Employment taxes have been easy to increase because they are linked to 'trust funds' that earmark these taxes for specific purposes that enjoy widespread public support (as Social Security and the Highway Trust Fund). In addition, many wage earners have been under the illusion that their employer pays all or a portion of these taxes. In fact, the so-called 'employer's share' of employment taxes is normally shifted backward to employees or forward to consumers." The increased federal reliance on employment, or payroll, taxes and decreased reliance on income tax has tended to make the federal tax system, like those of states and cities, increasingly regressive. The fault is shared by both parties. In fact, some of the liberals who now advocate reform voted without a peep in the past for more payroll taxes and less income taxes.

A chart compiled by Tilford Gaines, senior vice president and economist with Manufacturers Hanover Trust of New York, shows that from 1965 to 1973 federal receipts have risen 90 per cent, but that the greatest gain by far, 172 per cent, has come from payroll taxes. There was a 92 per cent gain from individual income taxes but only a 24 per cent gain from indirect business taxes and 46 per cent from the corporate income tax. Gaines says the figures show "the extent to which the growth in total spending at all levels of government has been financed through taxes upon individuals. The second feature is the extent to which growth in expenditures has been concentrated in income transfers. What is involved in these two patterns is a remarkably large amount of income redistribution among different segments of the population over the past several years."

Of the $124 billion total increase in taxes levied by federal, state and local governments since 1965, about $105 billion, or 85 per cent, was paid more or less by individual households. As a consequence, Gaines writes, "the percentage of total personal income going to pay taxes increased from 20.7 per cent in 1965 to 25.1 per cent in 1971." The bulk of these higher tax payments has been contributed by middle-income taxpayers. The bulk of the increased government spending during these years has gone to benefit low-income groups, which explains to a great degree American dissatisfaction, not only with taxes but with welfare.

It should be apparent, then, that the 1973 tax battle should center upon tightening the tax system, closing loopholes (or, if Secretary Connally insists, tax preferences). The staff of the Joint Congressional Economic Committee, under the chairmanship of Sen. William Proxmire, has said loopholes cost taxpayers at least $63 billion a year. The staff report also insists that nobody in Congress or the executive branch has a clear idea of how these loopholes benefit the country, or, indeed, if they do. Loopholes give tax breaks to everybody from fish farmers and irrigation systems to oil drillers, rural phone companies and every businessman. In testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, Stanley S. Surrey, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, said the "major part of the permanent changes in the 1971 tax law—both as to revenue and space in the law—involved new subsidies," including restoration of the 7 per cent business investment credit, faster business depreciation schedules,

Pierotti

preferential tax treatment for exporters and a tax credit and deduction for political campaign contributions. Surrey called the law "one of the least creditable revenue measures in many a decade and one that considerably weakens the fairness and structure of the income tax." Tax loopholes, or preferences, benefit the poor as well as the rich; but the poor, and even the middle class, are in no position to take advantage of the long list of preferences available to the upper class.

Tax reform is never easy. It requires the support of an aroused public and of leaders in the White House and the Congress. So far, those in the present White House have shown little appetite for meaningful tax reform; nor for that matter have the Democratic power centers on Capitol Hill. It may sound too simple, but the shape of next year's tax fight will be determined on how many real liberals the American people vote into Congress on November 7. □

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GETTING SERIOUS ABOUT GUNS

FRANKLIN E. ZIMRING
Mr. Zimring is an associate professor of law at the University of Chicago and associate director of the university's Center for Studies in Criminal Justice. In 1968-69 he served as director of Research for the Task Force on Fireams of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence and co-authored that task force's report, "Firearms and Violence in American Life."

Gun control is a subject considerably more complex than dinner party conversations or speeches at police chiefs' conventions might indicate. And two aspects of the usual gun control argument cast doubt on the quality of data and the depth of insight on both sides of this loudly polar conflict. First, despite the diversity of gun control strategies, people are either firmly "for" or determinedly "against" gun laws in general, but are largely uninterested in the specifics of any particular law. Second, on both sides of the debate the hypothesis of conspiracy is advanced to explain why the position supported has not achieved national dominance. Advocates of gun laws talk of the highly organized National Rifle Association (NRA) and its palatial eight-story headquarters in Washington, D.C., as if this one corporate shell were thwarting gun laws with vast popular support. By contrast, NRA members complain, perhaps a bit defensively, of an "anti-gun faction" or "anti-gun cabal," in cahoots with the Americans for Democratic Action and financed by federal money during the later years of the Johnson administration.

In this embittered atmosphere the arguments have changed little over the years, and the debate has proceeded in almost a factual vacuum. Proponents of laws that would register guns point out that last year there were only three gun murders in Tokyo, which implies, presumably, that registration would produce similar benefits in Detroit. NRA people vacillate between arguing that guns have little to do with the problem of violence in the United States and warning that the problem is so serious that no control could possibly have any effect.

There is, in fact, an important relationship between guns, particularly handguns, and violence in the United States. At the same time, it is far from easy to pass and administer laws that promise to have a salutary effect on gun violence. To defend this conclusion, no doubt unsatisfying to gun "lovers" and gun "banners" alike, I propose to discuss the relationship between guns and violence, the purpose and limits of different types of control laws, and a few of the things that must be learned before we can find sensible solutions to our gun problems.

What exactly is the "gun problem"? Advocates of control start by pointing out that more than one-third of all robberies, one-quarter of all serious assaults, and 65 per cent of all homicides are committed with firearms. Their opponents reply that the vast majority of the country's 100 million guns are not involved in violence, that what we really have is a crime problem, not a gun problem. (Guns don't kill people, people kill people.) In a trite sense this reply is to the point: firearms would not contribute to the seriousness of our crime problem if we had no crime. But guns are not just another weapon used in crime. Serious assault with a gun is five times as likely to cause death as a similar attack with a knife, the next most dangerous weapon. And gun robberies are four times as likely to result in the death of a victim as are other kinds of robbery.

It is difficult to understand this lethal relationship without referring to the motivational background of the typical homicide. Obviously, if most of the 16,000 killings in this country last year were the result of single-minded attempts to kill at any cost, the presence or absence of a gun would make little difference, because a number of other potentially lethal weapons are available, and attackers would merely shift to these. But most killings are the result of disputes between people acquainted with each other, where spontaneous violence is generated and the weapon is used to win a fight or wreak vengeance or injury, whether or not this means that death will result. About two-thirds of all gunshot killings in Chicago involve only one wound, and there is a great deal of similarity between attacks that kill and serious assaults that do not: fatal attacks and nonfatal attacks involve the same kinds of people in the same kinds of situations, and take place during the same days and hours. Our violence problem might be thought of as a national lottery involving 250,000 victims a year, of which 16,000 are selected by chance to die. There are exceptions to this pattern—coldblooded assassinations that are beyond any weapons control—but the great majority of homicides, and the bulk of the recent increase in homicide, are precisely the kind of killings that can be substantially reduced by getting guns out of the hands of potential attackers.

So far I have been discussing guns as a general category, making no distinctions among handguns, rifles and shotguns. In a sense that is appropriate, because a rifle or a shotgun, if used in an attack, is at least as dangerous as a handgun; but even a cursory study of statistics on firearms and violence suggests that the handgun is a special problem that merits a special set of solutions. The handgun—small, easy to conceal, unimportant in hunting —accounts for about one-quarter of the privately owned firearms in the country, but is involved in three-fourths of all gun killings. In the big cities, handguns account for more than 80 per cent of gun killings and virtually all gun robberies.

If crime statistics suggest that the handgun is a special kind of weapon in this country, statistics on gun ownership confirm this impression. Eight years ago a national sample of people with some shooting experience was asked what were good reasons for owning long guns and handguns. Ninety-five per cent mentioned hunting as a good reason for owning a long gun; only 16 per cent mentioned hunting with a handgun. But 71 per cent of the shooters mentioned self-defense as a good reason for owning a handgun. This figure strikes close to the central irony of the handgun problem in the cities. As fear of crime and racial violence increases, handgun sales triple;

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as the number of loaded guns increases, the use of firearms in crime increases; as gun use increases, the death rate from violent crime increases; when this happens, citizen fear of crime increases still more.

The self-defense aspect of this "vicious circle" deserves further attention. Even though the great majority of handguns are kept for household self-defense, it is absolutely clear that the handgun in your house is more likely to kill you or a member of your family than to save your life. In Detroit more people died in one year from handgun accidents alone than were killed by home-invading robbers or burglars in four and a half years. And it is rare indeed that a household handgun actually stops the burglar who tries to elude you or the robber who counts on surprise and a weapon of his own. So the gun that will not save your life, more than ninety-nine times out of a hundred, will not save your color television either. The discovery that self-defense handguns are a poor investment, dismal though the news may be to the fearful urban dweller, does yield one promising conclusion: giving up your gun makes sense, even if nobody else gives up his gun. But if unilateral disarmament is rational, why don't people just give up their guns voluntarily? And why do handguns continue to proliferate in the cities?

To some extent, the vicious circle of urban guns is the result of misinformation about the risk of accidental death and the usefulness of guns in defense of the home. But it is foolish to think that millions of American families keep handguns merely because they have not read the statistics, or to suppose that shipping them the latest gun control article will change their minds. The risk of accidental or homicidal death from a gun in your home—though far greater than the chance that the gun will save life—is nevertheless small. In the great majority of gun-owning homes, the only real use of the gun is to make its owner feel less uneasy about the possibility that a hostile stranger will invade his home. This feeling of well-being is a statistical illusion, but an emotional reality. People will fight the statistics that show otherwise because, if their guns do not give them any real measure of protection, they have no other way to deal with their fears. In addition, everything that makes the handgun a special problem in America also makes it hard to understand that the handgun is not effective against the home-invading criminal. How can something so deadly be so ineffective? Trying to persuade someone that the gun in his house is not really protecting him is like trying to persuade a nervous friend that flying in a jet plane—7 miles above ground and going 600 miles an hour—is really safer than driving the family car to Florida.

There is one other point about gun use in this country that must be understood before it is possible to discuss sensibly the effects that various gun laws might have. There seems to be a strong relationship between the general level of handgun ownership for self-defense and the extent to which guns are used in offensive violence. That is what makes the vicious circle vicious. Evidence on this point comes from two sources. First, those parts of the country with the highest levels of gun ownership also have the highest percentage of offensive violence with guns. Second, as self-defense gun ownership increased in the 1960s, so did the extent to which guns were employed in robberies and other criminal attacks. The most striking data on this trend come from Detroit, where racial disorders in 1966 and 1967 set off a wave of gun purchases. Accidental gun deaths tripled from 1966 to 1967, criminal gun attacks increased twice as fast as did all other types of attack, and criminal gun killings increased ten times as fast as killings by all other means in the four-year period from 1965 to 1968.

But just because the problems are real does not mean that solutions will come easily. Indeed, the extent of the gun problem in this country should be a warning that to reduce gun violence will be a difficult and expensive task. We already have thousands of gun laws in this country to match the thousands of gun killings, and why should gun laws decrease the rate of criminal killings when criminals, by definition, do not obey laws? These sober reminders from the local rifle association should be a guide in reviewing a number of different types of gun control strategies that have been discussed in recent years. How are these various laws supposed to work? What evidence do we have that they will? How much will they cost?

Stiffer penalties for gun violence. It is not true that the National Rifle Association opposes all laws intended to reduce gun violence. In fact, the members of that organization have been the most vocal supporters of laws that would increase and make mandatory prison sentences for committing crimes with guns. Such laws do not make it harder for potential criminals, or anybody else, to obtain guns. But the law is supposed to reduce gun crime by making it so much more costly than crime without a gun that potential criminals will either commit the crime without a gun or not commit the crime.

In order to reduce the number of gun crimes, such laws would have to deter persons who would not be deterred by the already stiff penalties for gun crimes. Can the threat of extra punishment work? There is very little hard evidence on this question, but there is also no reason to believe, out of hand, that such marginal deterrence is impossible. Perhaps the robber could be deterred from using a gun if the punishment for gun robbery were three times as great as for nongun robbery. But there are problems .

First, do we want to make the punishment for gun robbery so high that the extra punishment risked if the robber kills his victim seems relatively small? Second, it may be that the only way to make the distinction important is to reduce the punishment for nongun robbery. Third, punishment for robbery is already quite severe, at

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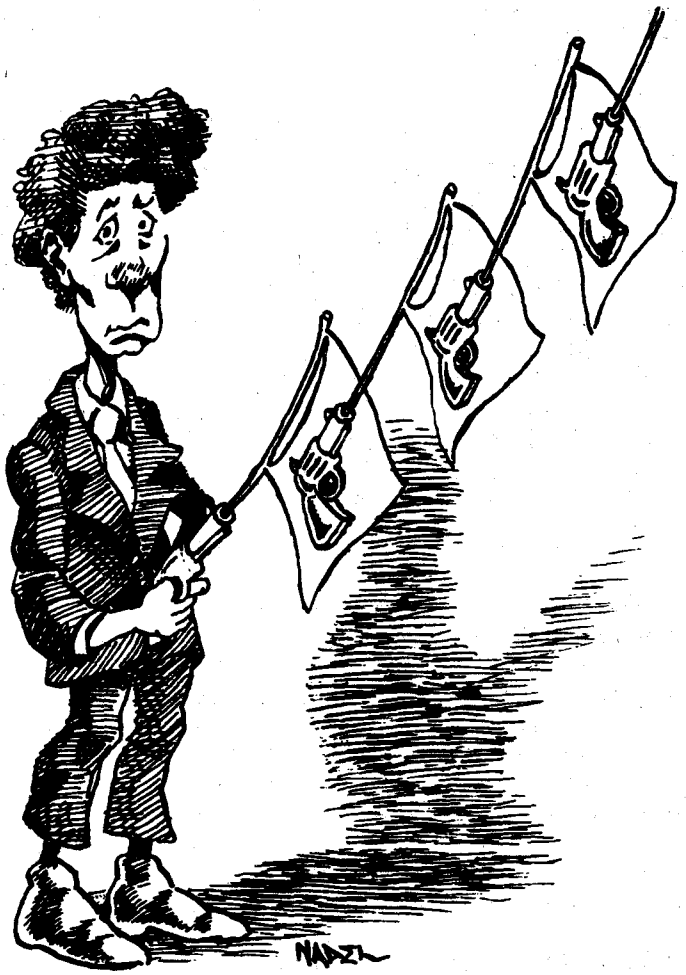
least on the books. How much more potential deterrence do we have left in the system?

The issue of extra deterrence is more complicated when the crime of gun assault, that is, an actual shooting, is discussed, because he who attacks with a gun is already risking the maximum punishment of the law if his victim dies. How much extra deterrence can come from making lesser penalties for nonfatal attack mandatory? Proponents of this approach suggest that while the penalties for crime look severe at present, in reality light punishments are often given. Granting the truth of this observation leads, however, to the further question of whether the same pressures might not eat away at mandatory penalties for gun crime. One is left feeling that there may indeed be some hope of reducing gun crime, particularly gun robbery, by increasing the gap between the penalty for that crime and



other crimes. At the same time, it is difficult to believe that such a program will have a major effect on the rate of gun killings.

Prohibiting high-risk groups from owning guns. Another approach endorsed by the NRA is to forbid certain high-risk groups from owning guns. The groups usually covered include those with serious criminal records, the very young, alcoholics and drug addicts. Forty-six states and the federal government have some type of high-risk ownership prohibition on their books. Many of these laws do not go so far as to make a person *prove* his eligibility to own a gun; the ownership ban is supposed to be effective because the ineligible person will be subject to criminal penalties if he is caught possessing a gun. That is some improvement over just passing stiffer penalties for gun crime, because the law attempts to separate the potential criminal from his gun before he commits a crime with it. And if such laws could reduce the number of guns owned by people subject to the prohibition, they would indeed reduce gun violence. But trying to separate out a small group of "bad guys" (who can't have guns) from a large group of "good guys" (who will continue to own millions of them) is neither an easy nor a very effective project. It is not easy, since if the purchaser doesn't have to prove he is not in the prohibited class, the law is still trying to use the threat of future punishment as a substitute for a system whereby it is physically more difficult for high-risk groups to obtain guns. It is not effective, since most homicides are committed by "good guys," that is, persons who would qualify for ownership under any prohibition that operated on only a small part of the population.

Permissive licensing. About half the jurisdictions that forbid ownership of guns by high-risk groups try to enforce this ban by requiring that people must have licenses to buy guns. That is thought to be an advantage over a simple ban on ownership because a person must prove that he is eligible to own a gun before he can get a license. Such a system no longer depends solely on the prudence of the people barred from ownership precisely because we do not think they are good risks. But such a system is also precisely where gun enthusiasts draw the line and start opposing controls because licensing imposes costs on all gun owners. Would licensing work, assuming that the opponents could be outvoted? Like ownership prohibitions, it would not prevent the majority of gun killings, which are committed by persons who qualify for ownership. But would it at least keep guns from high-risk groups? The problem with permissive licensing is that it leaves some 30 million handguns in circulation. Half of all the handguns in the country are acquired secondhand, and more than half of these are purchased from private parties, who may not ask to see licenses. Then there is the fact that there are 30 million handguns available to steal. It is, in short, extraordinarily difficult to let the good guys have all the guns they want and at the same time keep the bad guys unarmed. And it does not appear that states with permissive licensing systems made much of a dent in gun violence during all the years when the federal government failed to control interstate traffic in most firearms. With stronger federal aid, we know that the potential of such laws is still limited, but we do not know how limited.

Registration. This procedure records that a particular gun is the property of a particular licensed owner. Gun registration thus requires that the owner provide information about the guns he owns in addition to the information about himself that is required to obtain a license. For reasons that I find obscure, registration is one of the most feared of all types of gun control proposals, and the one that gun owners find hardest to understand. In part, the fear is based on anxiety about "Big Brother" keeping information about details of personal life, and in part on the belief that registration is some kind of subversive plot to

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lower the country's ability to resist invasion by a foreign power. But the center of the debate is about the purpose of registration: if criminals, who, it is to be remembered, don't obey the law, do not register their guns, how can registration possibly reduce gun crime? The answer is that registration is designed only as a support to any system that seeks to allow some people to own guns but not others. If such a system is to prove workable, then some method must be found to keep guns where they are permitted by making each legitimate gun owner responsible for each gun he owns. After all, some of the "good guys" would otherwise pass on guns through the secondhand market to "bad guys" and thus frustrate permissive licensing systems. If registration helped to keep the good guys good, it could help prevent gun violence, even if not a single criminal were polite enough to register his gun.

There is also a theory that gun registration will deter the qualified owner from misusing his gun, since it can be traced to him, but nobody is quite sure how much prevention this technique will achieve. All in all, it is difficult to estimate how much extra prevention a licensing system will obtain by requiring registration, but it seems perverse not to require registration of some kind in any system that seeks to prevent gun violence by barring certain groups from gun ownership.

Cutting down on the handgun. The most extreme solution that has been proposed in the gun control debate is the substantial reduction of the number of handguns owned by civilians. This proposal reacts to the frustrations of distinguishing the good guys from the bad guys by suggesting that nobody should be permitted to own a handgun unless he has a special need for it. Since the only people who can show that a handgun is less likely to kill them than save their lives are small shopkeepers, security guards and police, this approach would make nine out of ten handguns illegal. An interesting variation of this theme is Rep. Abner Mikva's plan to ban the manufacture and transfer of all handguns and wait patiently for the civilian supply to dry up. Another variation is the proposed ban on producing cheap .22 caliber handguns, "Saturday night specials." Gun owners, who have always feared that gun control groups were secretly planning to confiscate weapons, felt vindicated when this proposal emerged in the late 1960s. They doubt that such a plan will work because, first, "when guns are criminal, only criminals will have guns," and, second, if handguns are illegal, criminals will switch to other kinds of guns, which will not reduce gun crime but will result in moves toward confiscating all kinds of civilian firearms.

Both of these arguments have some appeal, but both ignore important facts about the relationship between guns and violence in the United States. It is, after all, the case that the use of guns in crime tends to rise and fall with the general level of gun ownership. Thus, substantially reducing the number of handguns will substantially reduce the amount of handgun violence, even though some criminals will undoubtedly continue to use handguns. Second, it is harder than one might suspect for the handgun robber or attacker to switch to the long gun. For that reason the average handgun is nine times as likely to kill as the average long gun, and states which try to restrict handguns find that their major problem then becomes not the long gun but the illegal handgun.

The real problem with the case for restricting the handgun is the question of whether any law can reduce the number of such guns in circulation enough to make a dent in gun violence, and, if so, how long it will take and at what cost. We could, by law, stop the manufacture of handguns next year, but studies show that some of the guns we made last year would still be killing people in the 21st century. Under the best of conditions, collecting the vast arsenal of civilian handguns would be neither an easy nor swift task. And gun control is necessary right now precisely because we do not live under the best of conditions —the very crime rate that makes gun control most necessary also makes gun control extremely difficult to achieve. How many citizens will turn in their guns when the clock strikes twelve? How long will it take to get the guns off the streets, where they do the most harm? Do we really want to leave urban households fearfully defenseless? Is it desirable to add yet another victimless and unenforceable crime (possession of a handgun) to the depressingly large list of such crimes that we have already accumulated?

I have belabored the various gun control options in the hope that such a discussion can help to inform some basic questions. How far do we want to go in controlling guns? Should controls be federal, state or local? These will be the pressing questions of the 1970s, and the time is ripe for setting out at least some tentative answers. The reader may have noticed that the more a particular gun control strategy hurts, the more likely it is to achieve substantial reduction in gun violence. Stiffer penalties for gun violence hurt only gun criminals and don't achieve much. Permissive licensing and registration are more inconvenient for gun owners, but not all that much more. The problem is that they may not be a sufficient curb on the handgun epidemic in the cities. Laws that attempt to cut down on the number of handguns would cut down on gun violence if they really made a dent in our handgun population, but they would also leave millions of American homes with no defense against crime stronger than fingernail biting. Of course, abolition of the handgun is rational, in the sense that it would make life safer in the homes that give up their guns; but I have yet to convince my next-door neighbor that my definition of safety, as distinct from a sense of security, should necessarily be his. And even if those of us in the cities must impose gun control on ourselves, should we demand this as a nationwide solution to the problem?

Perhaps the stickiest problem in the gun control debate is what role the federal government should play. The four-member violence commission minority suggested that "each state should be permitted to determine for itself . . . the system which best meets its needs," a deferential bow to the federal system that seems attractive. The only problem is that such a system might not work. Before the federal government passed a ban on interstate shipment of weapons, states like New York and Massachusetts, which tried to reduce their handgun populations, found that the great majority of the guns used in crime came from out of state. Even with the new federal controls, New York City is living through a handgun epidemic of considerable proportions.

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It may be that states and cities will not be free to decide their own gun control policies until the federal government establishes at least a system of permissive licensing and registration to cut down on the interstate "leakage" of guns. It also may be that even that system would not be enough—that a national handgun policy is necessary if any of our states is to make any real progress in the gun problem. We do not know the answer to this question. We do not even know where those New York handguns are coming from. The sad fact is that it is not just the NRA that is holding up progress in gun control. Some of our finest, most liberal big-city legislators passed a law in 1968 and have not bothered to find out how it is working or why it is not. They just call for more laws. It's almost enough to make a man join the NRA.

Almost, but not quite. Any gun control policy, even attempts to cut down drastically on the number of handguns on a nationwide basis, will be something of an experiment in the coming years. We do not know how effective any law can be with so many guns in circulation and so much pressure to keep them there, but if gun control will be an experiment in the 1970s, the blood that flows from the mounting toll of homicide suggests that it will be a necessary experiment for a civilized nation. □

THE TWO GERMANYS

Lurching Toward Confrontation

JOE ALEX MORRIS, Jr.
Mr. Morris is Bonn correspondent for the Los Angeles Times.

Question: What is two states but one nation?
Answer: Willy Brandt's Germany.

Bonn

The idea of one German nation, like the "one" Arab nation, is not Willy Brandt's. It is enshrined in the Basic Law, which serves in West Germany as a constitution pro tem until the day of deliverance into reunification. What Brandt has added is the awkward idea of two German states coexisting within the single German nation. Previous governments in West Germany have evaded that anomaly by refusing to concede the existence of a second German state "over there." That was equally awkward, perhaps, but more in line with popular emotions during the 1950s and early 1960s.

Brandt's innovation has not been very successful, although it is a big step toward accepting the permanence of the *status quo*. But by paying lip service to the idea that the two Germanys will some day become one by free expression of their people's wishes, he has perpetrated the Alice-in-Wonderland quality of German politics. He has also confused, and in part embittered, a public that doesn't really know what his *Ostpolitik* is all about. The polls show that some 20 per cent fluctuate wildly on the subject, depending on who made the last points in the political slugfest.

Brandt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last year for his efforts to break the rigid cold-war patterns of relations between Eastern and Western Europe. He was doing in the East what Konrad Adenauer had done in the West to remove the bitter remnants of Hitler's war. He was prepared to accept new relationships and new understandings, provided that his Communist negotiating opponents did not force him into politically "hot" corners. That meant continuing the myth that there could be no official revision of the European map until there was a European peace treaty; it meant also that Brandt would continue to assert that Germany must keep its option for reunification. And it presupposed that Bonn's ties to NATO and the West would remain intact. The idea of a unified but neutralized Germany died long ago, having last been heard of when Stalin tried it out on Adenauer, and the old man refused to bite.

All these confusions and contradictions make the average West German feel the ground shifting under his feet. Almost everyone favors a rapprochement with Eastern Europe, but few citizens are confident that they know where Brandt is taking them. It is largely the government's own fault. Its public education efforts have been miserable and directed more to pretending that no changes are being made than to explaining and justifying what is in store. As a result, the public and the Bundestag are caught up in the most bitter and ill-informed public debate since the Federal Republic was formed. The heat of the argument far exceeds that engendered over West Germany's accession to NATO and Western Europe in the mid-1950s. Despite Brandt's assurances that his treaties with Moscow and Warsaw fundamentally change nothing, many Germans are convinced that they seal the fate of vast regions to the east that were at one time part of Germany.

With the exception of the die-hard expellees from these lands, the debaters have focused on a more basic obscurity —whether or not the treaties will mean that Germany is to be permanently divided into two states whose antipathetic systems of government guarantee that they will gradually drift farther apart. The fact that John Foster Dulles, by refusing to aid the Hungarian rebellion in 1956, settled the political future of East Germany and all of Eastern Europe tends to be ignored. Rainer Barzel, the Christian Democratic opposition leader, doesn't talk about rolling back communism, but he does talk about somehow persuading the Russians to allow 17 million East Germans to vote on whether or not they want reunification. Brandt pays lip service to this notion as well, but the widespread suspicion is that he accepts the two Germanys and will eventually abandon the one nation, even as a concept. Richard von Weizsaecker, one of the more enlightened

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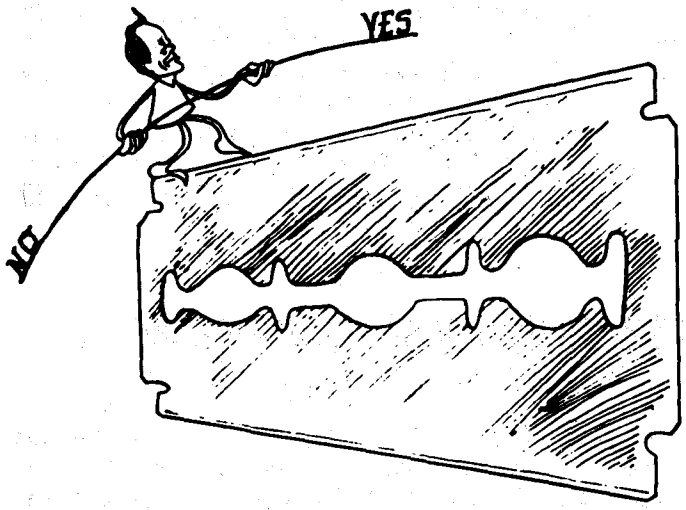

Backes, Heilbronner Stimme (Germany)

men in the opposition, has urged Brandt to say so openly, so that there can be a clarifying debate on the real issues dividing the parties and the country.

Instead, the government is lurching toward its first great confrontation, the parliamentary ratification of the two treaties; it would accept the territorial *status quo*, while insisting that there can be no final settlement of European problems until a peace treaty is signed—an event probably as remote as the Day of Judgment. It all boils down to what is "final," and there is little doubt that Moscow and Warsaw expect the treaties to settle all their postwar problems with Germany.

What the Russians did not reckon on at first was that the treaties might not survive the Bonn parliament. Governmental sources too near the center of power to be wrong insist that Brandt dashed off to see Leonid Brezhnev last fall because, among other things, the Soviet leader could not imagine that the Bundestag might dig in its heels. After all, the Supreme Soviet ratifies everything the government sets before it. That the Russians now see the truth is evidenced by the near hysteria of their press campaign against the West German opposition; the threats did not stop with warnings of a return of the cold war, but suggested something even hotter.

The treaties will manage or fail to slip through the Bundestag by a 1- or 2-vote margin in May or June, depending on the actions of the Bundesrat, which, much like the House of Lords, can delay and sometimes force compromises in legislation. If the treaties fail, all hell could break loose, for Brandt is now thinking of making them an issue of confidence. That could mean new elections this summer, crammed in hectically before the Olympic Games get under way in Munich in August.

A great flap is also on about East-West rapprochement in general, for the Russians have said they won't ratify the four-power Berlin agreement until the treaties are signed. That in turn means no European Security Conference—if the Russians stick to their guns. There is a suspicion in the air that they won't. Moscow is desperate to get its security conference, and some observers feel the Russians will swallow their pride and bring the Berlin agreement into operation in any case. If these suspicions are borne out, they reduce the international pressure on West Germany to ratify the treaties. The question then arises whether this great debate, which has so bitterly divided West Germans, was worth it after all.

No German, least of all Brandt, sees the treaties as more than a first step in the long process of eliminating old enmities. The Russians see them quite differently: in the Communist view, steps are being taken to recognize and stamp with official approval the territorial "adjustments" made by the Red Army after World War II.

Brandt has been accused of naiveté. And he has stirred hatred, because millions of people now living in West Germany still think of Silesia, Sachsen and East Prussia as their homes. The fact that they are living better today than they ever did or could in those homelands is of little importance. These people are emotional, and politically active.

I discovered this at a public meeting in the Rhineland town of Neuss a few months ago. Five of us appeared on a panel to discuss the *Ostpolitik*: three Germans, a Pole and an American.

When the meeting was thrown open to the public in its second hour, the three Germans and the American might well have left the platform: questioner after questioner rose to attack the Pole. No one wanted to know what the Americans thought of the *Ostpolitik*, only bitter accusations that the Poles had seized German land and thrown out the people living there, and that it would be a sin to accept this formally. The tenor of the meeting was by no means representative of the West German public as a whole, but apparently the only burghers of Neuss who were concerned enough to turn out, were the embittered opponents of Willy Brant's policies. That says a great deal about the problems the Chancellor faces in selling them to the public.

That is the basis upon which the *Ostpolitik* battle is being fought—not exactly the lofty, statesmanlike plane which Brandt would prefer. He cannot afford to let it stay at that level, but with the emotionalism now gripping the debate, it is difficult to get it back to a level of reason. Therefore, this summer could mark the end of the social-liberal experiment in Bonn, at least for the present. If it happens, it will be at the wrong time and for the wrong reasons, because at heart the opposition shares the government's desire to "normalize" relations with Eastern Europe.

It could be that Brandt is ahead of his time, that public opinion here is still rooted in the past, as the Neuss meeting seemed to show. But when will the time be ripe? Certainly a Social Democrat like Brandt is in a better position to press the issue than was his Christian Democratic predecessor, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, who had been a Nazi and held a high-ranking post in the Third Reich.

One could wait too long. The upcoming generation is vaguely interested in Brandt's efforts, but doesn't feel itself committed. After all, these young people were not even born when Hitler's armies were laying waste to Poland and Russia, and they are not as conscience-stricken as their elders. The most dramatic example of their freedom from the dark past is the strong anti-Zionist trend in radical university circles. In the past two years, things

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that had been simply unheard of have been happening here—for example, the heckling of the Israeli ambassador when he speaks at certain universities. The normal position of an Israeli ambassador in Bonn compares in prestige to that of the Papal Nuncio in a Catholic Latin country.

Some look with horror on the antics of the youth; others see them as the saviors of a nation which has tried hard to reform, but is not yet comfortable in the democratic framework. But the answer to that is for the future. The present is in the hands of people who remember, like Brandt. And like the 10 million expellees from the East. Brandt looks back in shame, and the expellees look back in anger at what happened to their lives.

In its most basic form, that sums up the political confrontation gripping West Germany. The verdict is still to come, and only a fool would bet heavily either way. □

THE POLITICS OF PROSTITUTION

PAMELA ROBY and VIRGINIA KERR

Ms. Roby, an assistant professor of sociology at Brandeis University, is completing a political history of the prostitution laws in New York State. She is the co-author of The Future of Inequality (*Basic Books*) *and editor of* Child Care—Who Cares?, *to be published soon by Basic Books.*

Ms. Kerr, now on the national campaign staff of Rep. Shirley Chisholm, has worked as press and legislative coordinator for the National Women's Political Caucus, and as a field representative for the Day Care and Child Development Council of America. She has contributed an essay to Child Care—Who Cares?

Reformers are fighting today, with some success, against repressive laws and attitudes, but few of them have been concerned with the country's continuing discriminatory treatment of prostitutes. Nor are the prospects for change encouraging.

Last year, Storey County in rural Nevada became the first county in the country to allow licensing of houses of prostitution. Shortly after Storey passed its law, the Nevada legislature rejected a similar bill applicable to Clark County which includes urban Las Vegas; instead, it passed a measure that prohibited the licensing of houses of "ill fame or repute." In California, Sacramento Assemblyman Leroy Greene surveyed 15,000 constituents and found that 69 per cent favored legalized prostitution. He introduced a legalization bill, but it has been stalled by opposition from police and conservative California voters.

Last April, Hawaii passed legislation legalizing all forms of sexual intercourse between "consenting adults," but made an exception of prostitution. According to Hawaii Circuit Judge Masato Doi, "logically it might be right to legalize it along with other liberalizations, but we don't believe the attitude in our community is such as to warrant the exemption of prostitution from criminal prosecution." And, in September 1969, New York State, generally considered the home of progressive social policy, passed a bill which, for the first time in the state's history, made prostitution a crime. Previously it had been a violation or noncriminal offense.

These are the sorry highlights in the nation's recent attempts to re-examine laws against prostitution—laws that have been around for a long time without eliminating or systematically controlling the "vice"; laws that are themselves more destructive than the traffic they attempt to control; and laws that, in a time of rising urban and suburban crime, are frivolous and should be repealed.

In 1870, five years after the Civil War, prostitution per se was both legal and unregulated in New York City; houses of prostitution boldly advertised in the newspapers and printed circulars, and operated unmolested as long as their owners regularly paid off the police and politicians. Under existing laws, streetwalkers who annoyed passers-by could be found guilty of disorderly conduct, but prostitutes who solicited in the red-light districts were not so convicted, for "passers-by" in those areas were assumed to be seeking the women's services. (And, as now, persons too poor to live outside the districts didn't count.) Women who practiced prostitution in houses could be convicted of vagrancy, but only if they had no other legal means of support.

At that time, as in many states today, prostitution was defined as an act that could be committed only by women. And the laws accorded with social norms. Throughout the 1870s, prostitution was seen as necessary for the satis-

Temples of Tobe.

The house at No. 79 Marion street is of the first class, and frequented by the elite of the city. It contains six boarders.

The house No. 53 West Houston street is kept by Mrs. Mayer who furnishes the best accommodations for ladies and gentlemen. This house is kept in a very quiet and orderly manner.

The next house, No. 55, is kept by Miss Ada Blashfield, the dashing brunnette, who has eight or ten boarders, both blondes and brunnettes. These are a pretty lot.

From The Gentleman's Directory, *New York, 1870*

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faction of upper- and upper-middle-class men, who were denied the sexual favors of women of their own class before marriage and who were discouraged from marriage until their late 20s, when they could afford to support a family. At the time, abstinence was thought to cause impotence, and "refined" prostitutes were the only solution.

The notion that men required prostitutes was first challenged in the mid-1870s, when the Women's Social Education Society of New York, responding to a bill that called for the medical inspection and licensing of prostitutes, circulated a petition and held meetings against the measure and in favor of suppressing prostitution altogether. The Society's stand was reinforced the following year by the General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, an international organization founded by Josephine Butler, a reformer who had compassion for poor women forced into prostitution. Arguing that the state should abolish prostitution, instead of giving it "legal status" and a "recognized right to be" through regulation, the federation asserted that New York had "dealt too exclusively with women" in its handling of prostitution and should henceforth be "fair and just to men and women alike." At the same time, many feminists pointed out that women must have the option of decently paid jobs if they were to be free to leave, or to refrain from entering the trade.

While an increasing number of people began to question men's absolute need for prostitutes, many men viewed women's demands for more rights and their growing independence as troublesome. A number of these men associated the increase in prostitution with the greater education and freedom given to women as a result of the Civil War; or they simply condemned both prostitution and women's new freedoms in the same breath.

In 1893, the New York State Supreme Court upheld a lower court opinion by Judge Cady that the prostitute's "calling is a recognized and deplorable form of vice, productive of disorder and disease, and neither the more nor the less so whether she happens to have a lawful employment or not." Thus, in spite of the wording of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Cady maintained successfully that the legislature really intended to give magistrates throughout the state the power to penalize "lawfully employed," as well as unemployed, persons convicted of prostitution.

In 1890, 1894 and 1910, state commissions were appointed to investigate prostitution in New York City. Each commission was comprised solely of white men and each was supported by a coalition of Republicans, Prohibitionists and other Wasp anti-Tammany forces who saw the city's police record in handling prostitution as a potential tool for attacking the incumbent Democratic administration, whose powerful hold over patronage was strengthened by the depression of 1893-97. These men devoted most of their energy to public attacks on "vice," and ignored the need to create alternative opportunities for women—an oversight in keeping with the laissez-faire policies of the time, when the only legitimate roles for a woman were wife and mother. Thus, so the mores went, a prostitute who couldn't be transformed into a wife and mother was beyond redemption: she was a fallen woman, who could only be condemned and hidden away.

With the despression of the 1930s Tammany reasserted its hold over New York jobs and, as before, reformers and Republicans challenged its power through state investigations of the city government. The investigations, making daily headlines, disclosed police deals with prostitutes, the framing of innocent women, and corruption throughout the government. In the end, the investigations brought the Republicans and reformers, headed by La Guardia, into office. In the mid-1930s, the Dewey investigation of organized prostitution and crime again titillated the public and helped to re-elect La Guardia and later to send Thomas Dewey to Albany.

Although Seabury and Dewey released prostitutes who testified for the investigations, Magistrate Anna M. Kross and other women associated with the courts charged that the system for handling prostitutes was weighted against them and was not being changed. Testifying that New York, through its police and court method, prosecuted the victims and not the structure of commercialized vice, they pointed out that during the depression, when jobs were almost unattainable, thousands of women faced the choice of prostitution or starvation.

Magistrate Kross and the other women who spoke against the conventional wisdom had themselves led independent lives which clashed with the conventions governing feminine behavior. Perhaps for that reason, their insight into the problems surrounding prostitution was sharper than that of the series of blue-ribbon, all-male commissions formed to study the profession. The judge and her colleagues, however, were not to have the time needed for a serious review of social policy toward the problem. With America's entry into World War II, as during the First World War, came a public obsession with the need to "keep the boys healthy," free of VD, and the distracting pleasures of sex. Prostitutes were viewed as enemy allies, and the military, along with state and local governments, spent much time, money and personnel on drives to suppress prostitutes and to educate the public about the dangers of promiscuity.

After the war, Judge John Murtagh reopened the questioning of punitive policies toward prostitution. After speaking widely on the subject, he and Sara Harris published *Cast the First Stone*, a moving and well-documented volume intended to arouse the public to reform New York State's laws. Some persons listened. American attitudes toward sex, women and prostitution had shifted with the times—the advent of the automobile, movies, Freud, increasing urban populations, two World Wars, and the education and growing independence of American women during the first half of the 20th century all played a part.

The New York Penal Law and Criminal Code had been amended piecemeal through judicial decisions, but had not been thoroughly revised since its writing in 1849. In the early sixties, Governor Rockefeller agreed with the New York Bar Association that it needed to be updated and streamlined. The Governor, the New York State Assembly and the Senate appointed a fifteen-member commission to revise the law. The group included three blacks and representatives from across the state, but not one woman, though one would have assumed that women could have contributed an important perspective to the formulation of many laws.

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The commission's work on the law it was to propose was partially influenced by the social changes noted above and by questions raised with regard to the inclusion of "crimes without victims" in the penal law. The maximum sentence for prostitution was reduced from one year to fifteen days in jail (slightly stiffer than the sentencing pattern over the past several decades) and prostitution remained in the category of "violation," or noncriminal offense. None of the commissioners, however, seemed to feel that public opinion would tolerate the removal of prostitution from the Penal Law. In addition to reducing the sentence for prostitution, the revised law proposed by the commission stated that men, as well as women, could be convicted of prostitution.

During public hearings held by the commission in 1964, a third change was proposed to the commission: the addition of a clause to make patronizing a prostitute an offense subject to a maximum sentence of fifteen days. Feminists, social hygienists, social service organizations and other groups had begun to press for a "patron clause" during the 1920s, but their bills were either defeated or killed in committee in 1923, 1924, 1926 and 1927. At the 1964 hearings, two feminist lawyers argued that prostitution should not be included under the Penal Law, but that, since it was, patronizing prostitutes should also be made a "violation" because to penalize the prostitute and not the patron constituted sex discrimination. A representative of the American Social Health Association maintained that penal sanctions against the patron would help to curtail prostitution and venereal disease. Following the hearings, the clause making patronizing a violation was included in the Penal Law.

The New York State legislature passed the prostitution statute and the newly created "patron" statute without debate, and the new law went into effect on September 1, 1967. Those who watched the enforcement of the "patron clause" soon realized that New York's "johns" (the trade term for patrons) had little to fear—of the prostitution and patronizing *arrests* between September 1967 and late 1971, less than 6 per cent were for patronizing; of the total prostitution and patronizing *convictions*, less than 1 per cent were for patronizing. With neither the police nor the judges treating it seriously, the clause, as described by Judge Amos Basel of the New York Criminal Court, didn't "make sense. We don't have the will to make it hold, so it makes the law a joke."

While the patron clause enjoyed benign neglect, the section pertaining to prostitution soon became controversial. A few months before the reduced penalty was to become effective, it was assailed by New York City's midtown hotel owners and businessmen, along with Buffalo's vice squad captain and state legislators, all of whom claimed that hordes of prostitutes were on their way to New York in anticipation of the more lenient law. Their clamor stimulated a police cleanup of prostitution in Manhattan, where women by the hundreds were arrested for disorderly conduct and loitering. The New York Civil Liberties Union, the Legal Aid Society, *The New York Times* and a few judges responded by condemning the cleanup, and, after much debate among civil liberties groups, the district attorney's office, the police and the judges, the arrest of suspected prostitutes for loitering was held to be in "contravention of the clear language of the Penal Law's loitering statute" and in "complete violation of the constitutional rights of the defendants." Thereupon, with outside organizations working to insure that the prostitution law was administered according to the books, and with a few politicians joining businessmen to demand the cleanup of midtown Manhattan, the legal bureau of the New York City Police Department began drafting legislation to amend the Penal Law to make it tougher on prostitutes.

Mayor Lindsay reacted to the situation by appointing a Mayor's Commission on Prostitution which included the president of the New York City Hotel Association and representatives of all the conflicting interest groups that had exerted pressure on his office. However, the only bill drafted in time to be presented at the 1968 legislative session was killed in a Senate committee.

The following fall, four bills pertaining to prostitution were submitted in both the Senate and the Assembly. One, drawn up as part of a "crime package" by New York City's legislative office, proposed to make prostitution a Class B misdemeanor and was submitted to the Senate and Assembly Committees on the City of New York. John Marchi, then chairman of the Senate Committee on New York City and preparing to oppose Lindsay in the 1969 mayoral race, decided to claim the measure as his own. By the time Marchi had introduced the bill, passage was guaranteed. "Law and order" sentiment, concentrated news coverage of the "prostitution problem," bipartisan support for stronger legislation from both upstate and downstate, and two years of what was viewed as bad experience with a more lenient law combined to form an unbeatable lobby. Marchi's bill making prostitution a Class B misdemeanor subject to a maximum sentence of ninety-one days became effective September 1, 1969, and, as we said earlier for the first time, prostitution became a "crime" in New York State.

Prostitution again made headlines early in 1971, when two "related crimes" were attributed to prostitutes. The mugging of a sturdy former West German defense minister near the Plaza Hotel and the fatal stabbing of an Italian industrialist by alleged prostitutes brought on a series of New York police moves against midtown streetwalkers. The only note of dissent to the traditional game came from feminists who demonstrated against the crackdown and criticized the Police Department for failure to arrest "johns."

With the summer increase in streetwalking, the police again organized a drive on the women, accompanied this time by wide publicity of a Tactical Patrol Force plan to take Polaroid snapshots of suspected prostitutes in midtown. The picture taking—to provide evidence of loitering for the purposes of prostitution—was in response to complaints by visitors to theatres, hotels and restaurants in the midtown area that they had been harassed by prostitutes.

A few weeks later, the Knapp Commission reported that the operation of certain houses of prostitution was "tolerated because of payments to the police." Denying the charges, city police and officials continued the summer

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cleanup, judges began to hand down harsher sentences and, perhaps in response to feminist demonstrations, policewomen were added to the vice squad to pose as prostitutes and to arrest patrons. But, while prostitutes were receiving more and longer jail terms, the arrested "johns" who pleaded or were found guilty got suspended sentences. The prostitutes, as they have always done, returned to the streets as soon as they were free, and by fall prostitution and its control was, without question, an issue in New York.

On the traditional side of the controversy were the commissioner and the prostitution control director of the New York City Police Department who, citing data showing that 22 per cent of all recently arrested prostitutes had previous records for violent crime, charged that prostitution was "no longer a victimless crime" and called for even stronger laws. They were joined by the midtown business community which had fixed on prostitutes as the cause of a decline in tourist trade. That approach, characteristic of political and police response to public pressure for "law and order," places crackdowns on prostitutes at the center of efforts to control urban crime (or urban blight) and has, historically, satisfied the public.

On the other side this time were committees of the New York Civil Liberties Union and the New Democratic Coalition, which recommended that laws against prostitution and patronizing be removed from the books. Such groups have been in general agreement with the women's movement which, last winter, organized a public symposium on prostitutes and their problems. Fully aware that prostitution is still the most lucrative occupation available to women, the movement views prostitutes as human beings whose options are limited or directed both by circumstance and by their sex, and as people who are victimized, not helped, by the law.

That raises again the contention made earlier that the laws against prostitution are more destructive than the profession itself, that indeed the laws reinforce prostitution and hinder effective law enforcement against the complex of crimes with which it is linked. That being so, certain recommendations naturally follow.

The first is that laws concerning prostitution and patronizing should be repealed. The usual argument for repeal is that the laws have not and cannot eliminate the profession. To that we would add, first, that the laws actually encourage women to remain in the life. The court processing and bail required of women arrested for prostitution are the two major nonpsychological factors tying them to pimps. Lacking money, counseling, or alternative jobs, prostitutes have no choice but to return to their "protectors," who pay their bail and send them back to the streets. Further, our current laws, by permanently labeling persons convicted of prostitution as "criminals," increase the difficulty such women have in obtaining legitimate jobs. The policies, in sum, sever any normal relationships which prostitutes might have with the "straight" world, drive them into the underworld for protection and friendship and thus involve them in the ancillary crimes of mugging, narcotics peddling and murder.

A second argument for repeal of prostitution laws is that the laws are applied against streetwalkers but rarely affect call girls. This "selective" enforcement promotes disregard for the legal system and lends weight to the feeling that the law itself is biased according to class.

Third, elimination of prostitution laws would put an end to an important source of police graft. The 1971 Knapp Commission findings are only the latest in a series of disclosures of police collaboration with houses of prostitution.

Fourth, dropping these laws would free the police and its funds to concentrate on the increasing number of violent crimes in urban areas. In San Francisco, the crime commission estimated that the city spent in one year more than $375,000 to arrest, process and jail 2,116 prostitutes, most of whom were back on the streets as soon as they were released.

Fifth, repeal of prostitution laws would relieve the severe overcrowding in our prisons and courts. And, finally, we would only be repealing statutes which constitute interference in private affairs that do not affect public order or public safety.

Our second recommendation is that legislatures distinguish between prostitution and such offenses as public nuisance, mugging, rape and murder, which may be committed by persons who sell or solicit sex. Streetwalkers who annoy men by their advances, or men who similarly annoy women, should be liable to arrest on the ground of public nuisance. If prostitutes or pimps rob or beat patrons, the victims should charge robbery or bodily harm, not prostitution.

Third, we recommend that houses of prostitution be licensed, but that prostitutes should not be licensed. Arguments for licensing prostitutes generally rest on the theory that such regulation will protect the public from venereal disease, but the available data do not bear them out. According to the San Francisco Crime Report, "not only are female cultures simply not accurate tests of venereal disease, but a prostitute can acquire VD immediately after inspection and infect fifty to seventy men before she is inspected again." Thus, licensing would only mislead the customers by implying that VD cannot be contracted from prostitutes so regulated. Licensing, in addition, would place the state in a position of condoning prostitution and would put the prostitute in the same servile position toward the state as she has been toward the pimp.

If acted upon, these recommendations would, we think, rationalize and humanize society's treatment of prostitutes, free police to combat serious crime and perhaps help control venereal disease. According to some studies, many women are deterred from seeking VD cures because they fear being labeled "prostitutes." Control of VD must come through wide publication of its dangers, medical services readily available to all who have its symptoms, and support of research to develop faster cures and more reliable prevention, rather than through attempts to suppress prostitution.

We add, finally, that our recommendations are to be taken as a palliative, not as a remedy, for the problem. Prostitution, demeaning as many consider it to be, will continue to be a necessary and sometimes attractive way of "making it," as long as sexism, racism and class inequality continue to shape the lives of our citizens and to limit their options. □

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CORPORATE AUDACITY

Bailing Out a Hole in the Ground

IRWIN BECKER
Mr. Becker is a reporter on the Providence Journal *who writes for the most part on utilities and on energy in general.*

Tennessee Gas Pipeline Co. is not suffering as much as Lockheed and Penn Central, but like those failing giants, it knows when to go to the government to escape from a financial hole. Very shortly, Tennessee may get $8.8 million to escape from two holes that did not work. And New England's gas customers will probably end up paying for the gas they could not buy.

The holes are in Hopkinton, Mass., and were supposed to supply liquefied natural gas during the winter peak to eighteen New England gas companies.

But the underground reservoirs, which were hailed as an innovative and cheaper way to store gas, were inoperable because the gas escaped as fast as it was pumped into the holes.

Tennessee abandoned the project and claimed a $24.2 million loss. After insurance payments, sale of subsidiary equipment and a tax loss, the company still showed an $8.8 million deficit. And that loss would have been borne by the stockholders if the pipeline company had not taken the extraordinary step of asking the acquiescent Federal Power Commission to declare the venture "research and development."

An FPC examiner did just that, despite a blistering commission staff report that described the Tennessee gambit as "pathetic" and "ludicrous." Besides disregarding the staff's warning, the examiner based his decision on a "broad interpretation" that went beyond precedent because of the national gas shortage. But the Hopkinton project was suggested in 1964, long before the so-called shortage became a national issue.

If the decision by examiner Allen C. Lande is not overruled by the commission, Tennessee will be allowed to write off the loss over a ten-year period. Another decision will be required to decide whether all or only the New England customers of the pipeline firm should absorb the loss. But it is doubtful that the expense for Tennessee's mistake will be borne outside the six-state region. The FPC staff warned in a 1971 memo:

> Customers in Tennessee zones one through five [outside New England] have no intention of absorbing the losses of $3 million a year resulting from the failure of a project which was designed and constructed solely for the benefit of the New England group.

The Lande ruling is important because, by extension, it would allow any pipeline company to transfer the cost of an unsuccessful scheme from the stockholders to the customers. Thus, if the pipeline venture to bring Alaskan oil to the United States fails because of an ecological or man-made disaster, the public may be asked to pay for a private blunder.

The Hopkinton proposal was suggested in 1964 by gas companies operating in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Tennessee was receptive to the regional request and received FPC approval to construct the storage facilities for the 1967-68 winter. The liquefied gas price was to be $1.25 per 1,000 cubic feet.

The pipeline company said it would try a new procedure, pioneered elsewhere, of carving the reservoirs in the ground and using the minus 260-degree temperature of the liquid gas to freeze the surrounding earth and rock and create a sealed, natural enclosure.

The plan called for Tennessee to buy natural gas in the summer, when the pipeline is not used to capacity, liquefy and store the excess, changing it back to gas during the peak winter demand. The pipeline company estimated the cost of construction at $14.9 million and started work immediately. The underground system was chosen because it would be half as cheap to construct. The plant was dedicated in May 1967 and ran into trouble immediately.

In August, according to an FPC brief, "Tennessee realized that it had seriously underestimated the boil-off rate from the in-ground reservoir." The boiling off or seepage was so great that Tennessee was never able to hold more than a sixth of the planned 3 billion cubic-foot capacity.

In March 1969, Tennessee dropped the project, which utility officials had dubbed "Operation Mud Pie." Instead, the pipeline company proposed to build, for another $10 million, a standard above-ground storage center. To pay the extra cost, Tennessee asked that the price of liquefied gas go from $1.25 to $1.99, a jump of 60 per cent. In addition, it wanted the New England utilities to buy the full 3 billion cubic feet. The companies balked at the price and said they had a market for only half a billion of the cubic feet.

"It was on a take-it-or-leave-it-basis," complained a utility official. Others indicated that Tennessee made the price so high it would be impossible to accept. Tennessee claimed it was trying to keep pace with inflation. When the New England firms rejected the offer, Tennessee withdrew its planned construction and started looking for a firm to buy the vaporization and liquefaction equipment which was in workable condition but useless without the storage facilities.

At the same time, Tennessee cited the Hopkinton failure as the reason for reducing the winter supply of gas to the region. The double bad news prompted the New England companies into "crash programs" to raise their own liquid and propane equipment.

In 1970, Tennessee asked the FPC to close the entire project, "due to the unwillingness of some customers to pay higher rates for LNG service." The New England firms, known as the Customer Group, protested. So did such large Tennessee customers as Brooklyn Gas and Pennsylvania Gas, that feared they might have to share the loss. Several months of confusion ensued.

At first, according to an FPC staff brief, the Customer Group had no objection because it "appeared to be satisfied that the system-wide distribution of losses on the

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Hopkinton plant would result in relatively mild cost burden on the New England customers." That was in December 1970. In February 1971, the FPC said the loss would be a "substantial sum," to which the New Englanders replied: "The obligation to absorb the losses is unclear."

In March 1971, the FPC staff said the regional firms were "unaware of the consequences which are about to descend upon them." At that point, the group decided to withdraw "their former position of no objection." Meanwhile, Tennessee sold the Hopkinton system to the New England Gas and Electric Association (NEGEA) and Air Products Inc. for $4.2 million. With the FPC's blessing, NEGEA immediately announced a $13.4 million project to construct two above-ground storage units for NEGEA customers, primarily in the Worcester area.

Valley Gas, the only Rhode Island gas company affected by the project, parted with the Customer Group because of the NEGEA sale. "You guys are nuts," Charles V. McCaffrey, Valley president, recalled telling the other firms. He said the group believed it could purchase liquefied gas from NEGEA for several years, until the surplus was needed by NEGEA's own companies. But Valley Gas had other information. A Valley official had scribbled on one of the company's FPC briefs: "From private and privileged information, NEGEA has not the slightest intention of selling any gas." This was confirmed by NEGEA officials. With no support from the other companies, Valley protested the FPC decision that stopped the Hopkinton project and permitted the NEGEA sale.

It is hardly an even battle. Valley, which serves the industrial Blackstone Valley north of Providence, had revenues of $8.1 million in 1970 and purchased 0.6 per cent of Tennessee's output. Tennessee is part of Tenneco, the Houston conglomerate with revenues of more than $1.9 billion.

The heart of the case, however, was not Valley's predicament—that utility had delayed putting in liquefied gas equipment because of the more than $1 million cost to such a small firm—but Tennessee's claim that the Hopkinton effort was really research and development, and had been all along.

That issue was seized, or actually strangled, by the irate FPC staff, which issued a blistering memo in advance of Lande's decision. The memo, issued September 10, 1971, said the R&D argument was a "fabrication" and an "afterthought." The memo continued:

> Their evidence in the proceeding in which each engineering report is characterized as a "research" report is as pathetic as the attempt of authorities which periodically rewrite history to reflect current views.
>
> It would be startling if Tennessee were now allowed to charge $24 million to R&D, more than three times the total industry expenditures for the year 1968.
>
> Neither the customers, the commission nor the public had any hand in the design, construction or planning of the Hopkinton project. Thus Tennessee and only Tennessee should bear the ultimate financial burdens of mismanagement.

Six weeks later, on October 29, 1971, Lande issued the initial decision, which dealt with the question of whether to allow the loss as research. He conceded there was no precedent for granting the company's request, but then again there was little precedent for a gas shortage.

"When we cannot find a squarely applicable legal precedent to alleviate the new energy scarcity, we must look for effective equitable remedies," Lande said as he opened the door to any kind of settlement. He said the company should not be blamed for a mistake which it believed was "within the state of the art." After all, he noted, "the gas industry may have to attempt novel and costly solutions." He continued:

"Tennessee did not take a wild gamble. It was a costly venture and the results were disappointing. If discouraged, the gas industry will remain too timid and progress will be stifled." That may be the first official admission that the gas industry—with its "shortages" and depletion allowances and high profits—is timid.

Mr. Lande said he was "convinced" that the LNG project was "well intended" and that the company "embarked on a daring and worthwhile venture." What company isn't well intended, including Penn Central and Lockheed? In fact, everyone seems well intended, except, of course, the consumer, who, whatever his intentions, will pay for the blunders of a pipeline firm teetering on its second billion of revenues. □

LETTERS

who rules society?

St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIRS: Most of the statements made by Theodore Roszak in his review of *Scientific Knowledge and Its Social Problems* by J. R. Ravetz [*The Nation*, Mar. 27] are, I believe, based on a misunderstanding of the role of science in society, the relation of science to philosophy, and the relation between science and the humanities. I should like to make the following rejoinder to his main positions:

(*1*) The tendency to make science and technology the scapegoats for the ills of our society is simply a refusal to identify the real source of the trouble: the almost total absence of social and economic planning, and consequent allocation of national resources, for the good of all the people, on the part of the ruling groups in our society. In these groups no scientists hold controlling positions.

(*2*) Scientists are members of society and at all times, including our own, have followed the prevailing ideology. This is also the case among humanists and others. The nonconformists have always been exceptions. The dominant ideology of our society, not any single groups, such as scientists, is responsible for the present unhappy state.

(*3*) There is no intrinsic connection between science and military technology. Milions of people have been exterminated with primitive weapons throughout the centuries. The exploits of the military heroes have, moreover, been celebrated in song and story by poets, not scientists.

(*4*) Mr. Roszak admits that in World War II scientists had no choice but to help destroy Nazism. The great power of the military establishment came later, with the cold war. Among its most faithful architects were many humanists, like Koestler, who created the doctrine of communism as the ultimate evil, the most potent ideological weapon in the hands of the Pentagon and the CIA.

(*5*) Mr. Roszak is for "meaning and wisdom." Fine words! But they mean different things to different people, in different societies and different historical epochs. Let us have something more concrete!

A. V. Bushkovitch, Professor of Physics
St. Louis University

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Yet Will I Maintain Mine Own Ways Before Him

NO NAME IN THE STREET. *By James Baldwin. The Dial Press. 200 pp. $5.95.*

NOTES OF A PROCESSED BROTHER. *By Donald Reeves. Pantheon Books. 480 pp. $8.95.*

TODD GITLIN
Mr. Gitlin is co-author of Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago *(Harper & Row) and editor of* Campfires of the Resistance: Poetry from the Movement *(Bobbs-Merrill).*

James Baldwin is one of the few moralists now writing who writes with grace. In his new book he continues his odyssey through his own engagement with and disengagement from America, his sensibility struggling to integrate a mass of disparate material, really a scrapbook, with a singular tone of voice. That he is unable, finally, to make this book of essays stand as a unity is not solely his particular failure, but indicates something about this time which prevents a transcendence either in word or deed.

The writing is characteristically beautiful—I am tempted to say, too beautiful. At this butt moment, one is skeptical of any representation of reality which seems *too* clear, *too* beautiful. One asks, "What is he choosing to leave out? What is the price of his clarity?" As Baldwin writes about exile, about Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, about Hollywood, about an old friend finding himself caught between the hammer of law and the anvil of order, about the fire this time and next time and the time after that, about the miasmic South and the façaded North, about his childhood and the curiousness of his social role—as he shifts focus, he almost convinces the reader that the unity of his sensibility is the linchpin of his observations. *Almost* convinces. For his clear writing sometimes brushes away difficult matters with a nice turn of phrase.

> . . . hope—the hope that we, human beings, can be better than we are—dies hard; perhaps one can no longer live if one allows that hope to die. But it is also hard to see what one sees. One sees that most human beings are wretched, and, in one way or another, become wicked: because they are so wretched. And one's turning away, then, from what I have called the welcome table is dictated by some mysterious vow one scarcely knows one's taken—never to allow oneself to fall so low. Lower, perhaps, much lower, to the very dregs: but never there.

How one defines "low" is the matter to be elucidated. Baldwin's experience is often too condensed to be fully accessible—and yet perhaps it is that very limpid condensation which makes him so quotable and so esteemed by a middle-class white public which is looking for "civilized" access to Those People. Baldwin is nothing if not civilized, yet he has not himself lost access to the sources of his being—which is what makes him read and awaited by perhaps a wider range of people than any other major American writer.

To me, the most moving and pregnant of the several stories Baldwin tells has to do with an old friend who reads in Leonard Lyons' column, after the assassination of Martin Luther King, that Baldwin will no longer wear the suit he wore at an appearance with King and again at King's funeral. The friend, a post-office worker, asks for the suit. Baldwin, attuned to the rich ironies of his situation, the luxury of his moral gesture, goes to the friend's home for dinner. Their estranged sensibilities clash. The friend defends the war—"our" war. The friend is embarrassed by his militant stepdaughter but fails to understand her. "He seemed as little touched by the cataclysm in his house and all around him as he was by the mail he handled every day." The rift is that least bridgeable one, a rift of consciousness and experience. Baldwin is, understandably, more sensitive to the friend's images of him than to his of the friend, but finally writes this:

> For that bloody suit was *their* suit, after all, it had been bought *for* them, it had even been bought *by* them: *they* had created Martin, he had not created them, and the blood in which the fabric of that suit was stiffening was theirs. The distance between us, and I had never thought of this before, was that they did not know this, and I now dared to realize that I loved them more than they loved me. And I do not mean that my love was greater: who dares judge the inexpressible expense another pays for his life? who knows how much one is loved, by whom, or what that love may be called on to do? No, the way the cards had fallen meant that I had to face more about them than they could know about me, knew their rent, whereas they did not know mine, and was condemned to make them uncomfortable. For, on the other hand, they certainly wanted that freedom which they thought was mine—that frightening limousine, for example, or the power to give away a suit, or my increasingly terrifying trans-Atlantic journeys. How can one say that freedom is taken, not given, and that no one is free until all are free? and that the price is high.

Now this is beautiful and true, but there is another distance between the two men: that equally necessary distance of Baldwin from the stultifying world of the post-office worker. Baldwin grasps the distance at the beginning of this passage, then lets it go, so that finally—reluctantly, I should think—Baldwin condemns the man to his stupid stolidity. Baldwin doesn't dive as deeply into his friend's world as he imagines his friend diving into his. The novelist's entry into the clash between will and circumstance is canceled, and the friend is left one-dimensional. Perhaps, Baldwin would shrug, this is the way the friend has been made, has made himself. Or perhaps Baldwin's sensibility has carried him too far from the lives of others of different circumstance.

At other times, Baldwin moves so lightly into a situation that it is with a gasp that we realize how deep his insight is. Consider this passage:

> I was forced to recognize that, so long as your friend thinks of you as a Negro, you do not have a friend, and neither does he—your friend. You have become accomplices. Everything between you depends on what he cannot say to you, and what you will not say to him. And one of you is listening. If one of you is listening, to all those things, precisely, which are not being said, the intensity of this attention can scarcely be described as the attention one friend brings to another. If one of you is listening, both of you are plotting, though, perhaps, only one of you knows it. Both of you may be plotting to escape, but, since very different avenues appear to be open to each of you, you are plotting your escape from each other.

Who has not experienced this situation, whether black/white, female/male, or in any relationship poisoned by domination? This is really the situation of the slave and the guilty master: contemporary indeed. Baldwin evokes it splendidly. Occasionally also there are utterly arresting phrases, as when he speaks of "a courtesy as final as the raised drawbridge and as unsettling as the deep moat at one's feet."

Almost every book is "about" its author, especially when the author's sen-

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sibility is bare. Thus *No Name in the Street* is "about" nothing so much as Baldwin, and I wish he could carry the project further to disclose more of the rhythms of his consciousness, the moments between his persona's self-representations, between the catching of the planes and the harnessing of new projects. Perhaps it is his very distance from himself, so uncharacteristic of personal writing these days, which allows him his moments of social insight. Yet I wish he would settle down to develop a point at the length and with the suppleness it deserves, as when he restates an old theme of his: "If Americans were not so terrified of their private selves, they would never have needed to invent and could never have become so dependent on *what they still call 'the Negro problem.'* " I am not suggesting he transform himself into R. D. Laing or Wilhelm Reich, but that he delve more deeply into such seductive concepts, beyond the first approximations of almost offhand remarks. The very odd casualness of his tone betrays him here; the interest inspired by such a sentence flares and then fades away as Baldwin moves on to something else.

Thus too, to understand Baldwin's own social role as Cassandra, one has little more to go on than a phrase: "not spokesman exactly, but as public witness to the situation of black people." But a witness to whom? In part to blacks themselves, that they may hear themselves through him, but also to literate whites, thirsty for guilt and atonement, for a "civilized" accusation. Plainly this role is problematic, and must give Baldwin much to worry about, yet he does not take the occasion to clarify his own thinking about his no-man's land. Again, when he describes a meeting with Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, he touches on

> the relationship of the odd and disreputable artist to the odd and disreputable revolutionary; for the revolutionary, however odd, is rarely disreputable in the same way that an artist can be. These two seem doomed to stand forever at an odd and rather uncomfortable angle to each other, and they both stand at a sharp and not always comfortable angle to the people they both, in their different fashions, hope to serve.

But this observation only whets one's thirst for more. Baldwin's tendency to skim becomes disconcerting. By the end of this book, I became restive, longing for a more systematic moralism; for the time of moralism is not past—we badly need moral guidance informed by that very self-knowledge which Baldwin has made a fine career of attaining.

None of which is meant to imply that Baldwin is locked into a court-jester role, whipping masochistic readers of *Esquire* and *The New Yorker*; rather, he is caught in the tension between observing and acting, between rage and confusion, between the solitary and the social, between the claims of the races. This is obviously important territory which Baldwin could illuminate, and so I suppose I end up disappointed, feeling almost teased by the promise of his sensibility. The title of his book is taken from the following quotation: "His remembrance shall perish from the earth, and he shall have no name in the street: he shall be driven from light into darkness and chased out of the world." Yet Baldwin is very much in this world. Even his skimming surpasses most political writers' immersions.

Donald Reeves is a Cornell undergraduate who in 1970 led a movement of New York City high school students for a student bill of rights. His narrative is strongest where Baldwin's is weakest: in the love of sheer fact, in what happens when idealism meets power, in the process of trying to make changes in the schools he likens to prisons. His account makes that analogy more than rhetorical: in his portraits of the principal of the High School of Music and Art, of paternalistic teachers, of a black militant thrashing out at Reeves for Uncle Tomism, he is utterly convincing. The story is very depressing for those who would advocate peaceful attempts to work "within the system." From a social-activity reign as student leader, Reeves grew through militancy to a new kind of frustration; the games of the powerful are exposed in their full heinousness, and the authenticity of his account is buttressed by copies of confidential school-system documents. Nothing I have recently read about a social movement in process has so thoroughly evoked the evolution of political consciousness and the frustration of actually trying to make concrete change in America. And Reeves's achievement is that for the most part he has evoked this reality by speaking matter-of-factly, letting the history tell itself in raw detail.

However, the narrative is not fully successful. For one thing, Reeves does not reflect deeply enough on his own leadership role. He understands, for example, how mass media create movement stars but not why he so easily succumbed. And when his campaign for a student bill of rights fails, he has not prepared us to understand why. One learns a great deal about other people's failures, but not so much about Reeves's. Yet we do learn how Reeves's mind was changed by events, and thus about how a nice guy who doesn't ask very much is led through the labyrinth of radicalization. The simple lesson that revolutionaries are made, not born, can never be driven home often enough in a culture where "revolution" is as mystified as any other concept.

Threading through the narrative is the story of Reeves's relationship with a white girl, how he is caught between her and his black peers, until finally the relationship must go under. Naturally Reeves understands the flux of his own feelings better than he understands the girl's, but her objectification in his narrative, to the point of her becoming the white race's emissary to him, is as disconcerting as it is comprehensible. It is not so much that Reeves's description of her is necessarily wrong, as that it is not really present. His portraits of teachers and officials are fuller than that of his lover.

But scamped as Reeves's account is in this particular, it is otherwise ample enough to allow us to trace his evolution, and in some ways too ample. After 200 pages of raw detail, his descriptions of events begin to seem tedious, even petty. The book is probably too long by a third. Though Reeves does go off into sound theoretical discussions of the school system, he fails to extract from his own recorded experience enough of a sense of what was going on under the surface of his own activities. He is best when describing important occasions in his life, evoking their feeling-tone with a novelist's eye. The high school—a relatively "enlightened" one—is all too alive in its manipulative deadness. I think that despite its flaws *Notes of a Processed Brother* would be useful to anyone attempting to change the schools; it may allow the insurgent to skip some of the painful steps through which people usually are forced to learn. □

A CAREFUL VIGIL

last night a rattlesnake
gave birth to twins
beneath my bed
none of us slept

I heard her slide
her scales along the spring
and couldn't help thinking
O Lord this mortal coil

not only that but this morning
my black cat returned home
with a dove stuffed in his mouth

after breakfast he began
to speak affluent German

the village physician
believes that the animal
has been possessed
and recommends opium

Franz Dousky

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To the Spoilt Go the Spoils

THE WHITE USE OF BLACKS IN AMERICA. *By Dan Lacy. Atheneum Publishers. 275 pp. $7.95.*

M. G. COOKE
Mr. Cooke is professor of English at Yale University. His edition of Modern Black Novelists: A Collection of Critical Essays *was recently published by Prentice-Hall.*

"White folks," Jean Toomer has written, "always did do for niggers what they likes," and Dan Lacy's *The White Use of Blacks in America* may be seen as a documentation of this thesis. With two crucial qualifications, though. For Lacy suggests that whites have done for black people *only* what they like, and that often neither free nor kind nor honest; and also that whites have more commonly dedicated themselves to being able to do *to* black people what they like, and that frank, relentless, comprehensive.

In one respect, nobody needs to be told any of this; in another, *The White Use of Blacks* is a potential revelation, and one of urgency and moment, since so many whites—and Lacy brings this out—ignore, forget, understate, rationalize or, *mirabile dictu*, resign themselves to what happens, to what they bring upon their black brothers. But the book claims another function for itself, which is to make us see the rational economic pragmatism "of white actions and attitudes toward blacks in [North] America." These actions and attitudes, Lacy maintains, have on the whole

> constituted a deliberate and carefully interlinked set of policies intended to assure the presence and the exploitability of a large semiskilled labor force, primarily in agriculture, whose labor could be commanded at subsistence rates. Changes in the economy that increased or diminished the need for such a labor force have been the principal determinants of racial policy. Indeed, the paranoid elements in American, and especially in Southern, racial attitudes have been in no small part deliberately cultivated as a means of sustaining racial policies having primarily economic objectives.

Though we read elsewhere in the volume of the author's desire to "recount the economic, political, social, and personal policies" of whites, economics is the paramount concern.

Two questions arise. Granting that enslaved Africans were brought to these shores first for raw economic gain to their enslavers, is it improper to ask what philosophical and emotional frame of reference made it possible to see people so simply as things and producers of things, or improper to ask why so often whites have been willing to forego their own advantage—Lacy brings this out—to make sure black people would share none? Or has the economic vision of man so mastered our intellect and moral sight that we bow down to rubies and diamonds and, dazzled, kiss the hand of guilt?

These may be harsh questions, and necessary to get at the insidiousness of the situation, which could seem odorless, colorless and noxious withal. Lacy unmistakably separates himself from the white use of blacks in America, but somehow passively so, without indignation, without self-purgation: his book makes so little of black people, except as an inert mass of victims, that it becomes virtually a "use of blacks" in itself. And the writing inadvertently gives this away. "Slavery," we are told,

> demanded beings dull, ignorant, fixed in place and status, without hope or ambition, seeking neither self-expression nor self-government, organized in no groupings of family or church. . . . To shape character in that pattern in Jacksonian America was a remarkable, almost an incredible, feat, possible only by the exercise of great skill and psychological insight, of iron will, and of long and persistent application. But the masters of slave society achieved something surprisingly close to success.

This amounts to a spontaneous outburst of admiration, if not praise, and simply casts a pall over Lacy's formal, vague and speculative "tribute to the fortitude and integrity of" the slaves who, "in the face of . . . consistent assault, over generations . . . were so often able to maintain a continuity of family life that preserved the core of values on which a free black society could ultimately be erected." Something is amiss, again, when Lacy, to illustrate the "limitations on the absolute rights of the [slave] master" tells us what was done toward "curbing not his brutality but his indulgence of his slaves." Licentious limitations, these. And the description of the abolitionists, "shrilly, persistently, unequivocally, endlessly" hammering "at the total sinfulness of slavery," seems calculated to provoke revulsion and not sympathy. *Their* persistence is irksome, sanctimonious—that of the slave owners marked by "great skill and psychological insight. . . ." *Their* persistence is futile—that of the slave owners yields "something surprisingly close to success." Could that sort of success, albeit vicarious, spoil Dan Lacy?

Not altogether, perhaps, but we do seem to be witnessing a personal clash between what a man officially accepts and what he primarily assumes. This images the clash, the fault line in the foundation stone of the republic. In the Declaration of Independence the United States defined itself "ideologically" on the basis of equal, inalienable rights and liberty for all men. But in the Constitution it defined itself "legally" in such a way as to recognize, sanction and protect "inequality and the total and ultimate denial of liberty" for black people. But Lacy's embodiment of America's dilemma (hypocrisy is the view from outside) is less marked in the later chapters; he is describing more, and attempting to explain less, and the frightening litanies of calculated neglect, exclusion, deprivation and despair allow of no ambiguity.

Indeed *The White Use of Blacks* is conceived in a way that highlights description and narration over explanation. (The chapter headings read like an 18th-century novel.) Still, the book may give a false impression of being effortlessly set down; in fact it makes sharp use of its wide-ranging bibliography. Lacy's chronology of the post-Civil War period will help to dispel the stubborn misconception that the Northern victors, carpetbaggers and all, rushed right in to ram a new organization and practice down the throat of a prostrate and gag-

Ross Terrill.

China expert for CBS-TV coverage of President Nixon's trip to China. Winner of the coveted George Polk Memorial Award for outstanding achievement in journalism. Author of "by far the finest account so far of life in the land of Mao,"[1] a book that is "fascinating,"[2] "one of the best and most illuminating pieces about contemporary China that I have yet read."[3]

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ging South. In truth, it was left in the hands of respected, responsible persons in the defeated States to set up a suitable sociopolitical order again, and it was only after "a two-year interval" in which the antebellum *status quo* was calculatedly being rebuilt, that the North came to insist on Reconstruction. And even so there was no aversion to being tender of the South. Within a decade, through a combination of pious inertia and the sinister pragmatism that led to the Hayes compromise, "it was the Southern whites who decided the fate of blacks."

Though the thesis of economic interest becomes at best incidental, Lacy does cite a number of interesting developments with economic overtones. Item: Baltimore City is "getting blacker," surrounding Baltimore County "whiter"; some federal grants have had to be forfeited, but "this has not . . . prevented federal support of private-housing construction through FHA-guaranteed mortgages. In 1969, more than $11 million of such insurance was provided in the country" for homes "for middle and upperclass families." Item: "Much of the money ostensibly directed at the elimination of poverty actually went to support normal government functions. This was most widely true in connection with the billions spent under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act . . . [which] has done far more to alleviate the financial problems of urban school boards than the learning problems of urban school children." Lacy's summary of the situation is worth quoting in full:

> Like so many of the government's boons—like Social Security, union protection, and minimum wages, which benefited only the well-employed; like agricultural programs which aided only the landowning farmer; like housing subsidies that helped only the homeowner; like deposit insurance that benefited only the depositor—the GI educational bills ignored those who most desperately needed help.

To the spoilt go the spoils.

No doubt it was in the service of the amorphous god, originality, that Lacy decided on the economic emphasis. Because there is so much in the book that is valuable, one is left wishing that his sense of *homo economicus Americanus* had been more amply registered and more fully articulated. Then "the domains of science, religion, history, law and political theory" would be not just waved at in passing but incorporated into the argument. Then the piquant data concerning education which now must be traced hither and yon through the book might have been brought together into a coherent picture. Then the active and purposive life of black people—including Booker T. Washington, whom Lacy is ahead of many militants in seeing as a man with a radical mission—would have its rightful place, and not come in shadowy guise by the back door.

Then, above all, without any invoking of shibboleths like "paranoia," one would be at liberty to probe the human compulsions and complexities of white racism, where guilt as much as greed forced the classification of black people as non-persons; where feelings originating *e terrore* bred actions *in terrorem*; where it helped to stave off the threat of one's own inadequacy to deny that a recognizably different other could be and was as likely to merit praise and love as oneself; where absolute power over another beguiled the dread of one's own vulnerability and mortality; where a syndrome overtly narcissistic, latently incestuous, gets respectably licentious play. The white use of blacks in America at this stage is more than a matter of history, let alone economic history. And Dan Lacy would seem to know this as well as most, to judge by his final remarks. As it were shifting from history to obscure prophecy, he scans the problematical relation of black people and whites in America:

> The nature of that relation would not long drift undetermined. It would answer itself one way or another. And the 1970s opened with that imperative [to mean and live the law of the land] hanging like an ominous cloud from which we [whites] turned our eyes in weariness and fear. □

The Passion of Tillie Olsen

TELL ME A RIDDLE. *By Tillie Olsen. Dell Publishing Co. 116 pp. Paper $2.25.*

ELIZABETH FISHER
Ms. Fisher is the editor of Aphra, The Feminist Literary Magazine, *and she is now at work on a book about the materialization of sex.*

You won't find her in *Who's Who* or in *Contemporary Authors*, nor is her name going to be listed in the forthcoming reference book, *World Authors*. Her total published work probably runs to under 200 pages: the first story came out in 1934, the latest in 1970. In between there were the four stories in *Tell Me a Riddle*, reissued in paperback this August after being out of print for several years, stories written and published between 1953 and 1960, and—its own kind of explanation—the essay, "Silences, When Writers Don't Write," published in *Harper's* magazine in 1965. "I have had special need to learn all I could of this over the years, myself so nearly remaining mute and having let writing die over and over again in me." Yet in the 116 pages of *Tell Me a Riddle*—small ones with large type and large margins, too—are contained several lives and lifetimes, as if all the writing Tillie Olsen didn't do has coalesced in intensity and packed itself into these stories.

The title story is her masterpiece. My first reading of it was one of those shattering discoveries, an experience that, at first, reminded me of coming on Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep*, because that book, too, had been "buried," had a strong emotional impact, and dealt with poor immigrant Jews. However, Olsen's work has neither the particularity nor the special faults of Roth's; it has such compression and such scope that the analogy made by a friend of mine—her first reading of "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch"—seems to me a better one. With this difference: Tillie Olsen is not only a great writer, she is a feminist artist. Till the very end, we do not even know the name of the old woman whose long dying is the framework on which "Tell Me a Riddle" evolves. She is the mother, the wife, the grandmother. Only in the last 3 pages do we learn that she is Eva. But in the magic weaving of past and present which goes from Olshana in prerevolutionary Russia to death in a strange impersonal Los Angeles, what comes out most strongly is the disadvantaging of woman, the denial of intellect and aspiration, the utter thanklessness of the mother's role. Seven children are brought up, through the vicissitudes of a working-class life during the past fifty years, and make the successful climb into the middle classes, but at what a cost, what a cost. The young girl steeped in 19th-century idealism gives way to the exigencies of 20th-century American materialism. Always "don't read, put your book away," and she dies shutting out her husband, babbling of the great world of books and culture, philosophy and music of which she has had only the most fleeting glimpses in her practical everyday life: "The children's needings; that grocer's face or this merchant's wife she had to beg credit from when credit was a disgrace; the scenery of the long blocks walked around when she could not pay; school coming, and the desperate going over the old to see what yet could be remade; the soups of meat bones begged 'for the dog' one win-

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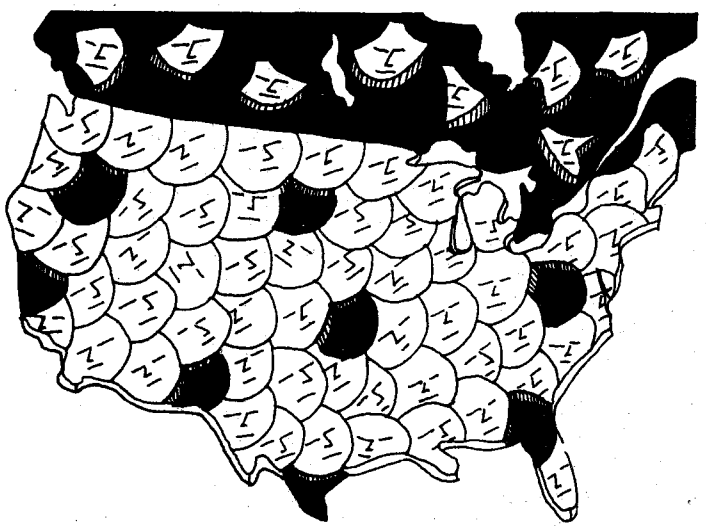

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ter. . . ." About Olsen's men it might be said, as of the husband in Beckett's "Happy Days," how can they help others when they can't even help themselves? Her women can, but it is never enough, never right, never whole.

"The love—the passion of tending—had risen with the need like a torrent; and like a torrent drowned and immolated all else. . . . Only the thin pulsing left that could not quiet suffering over lives one felt but could no longer hold nor help." People have drawn on her, feeding, demanding more, more, so that, at last, drained without replenishment, she says, no, enough.

"Never again to be forced to move to the rhythms of others. Being at last able to live within, and not to move to the rhythms of others." This is the refrain of the tired old woman, battered by too much life, but free at last on her own limited terms. "If they would but leave her in the air now stilled of clamor, in the reconciled solitude to journey to her self." Hunched in the closet, she hides from the hurly-burly of family, from her daughter's "spilling memories," unable to touch the baby, "warm flesh like this that had claims and nuzzled away all else and with lovely mouths devoured . . . the drawing into needing and being needed." And later, "at the back of the great city" where her husband had brought her "to the dwelling places of the cast-off old," as she makes for "the far ruffle of the sea . . . though she leaned against him, it was she who led." What images and what economy, what a world is here compressed!

"I Stand Here Ironing" is the story told by a mother of how, wanting to do the best for her daughter, she was so often forced to do the worst, and it is one that every parent can recognize. In tight, economical prose she tears us with the parental experience, how we listen, wrongly, to other people, or are just imprisoned by events we could not foresee—desertion, poverty, expanding families; it is also a hopeful story of how children survive, sometimes even making strength, or talent, out of the deprivations they've endured. Tillie Olsen's is an unsparing but tender vision in which love is need that is rarely answered, a vision of communication on strange, imperfect levels, and, above all, of resilience, a belief that human beings are not passive, that there is more in them "than this dress on the ironing board, helpless before the iron."

The two other stories in this volume, strong and well worked, would be accounted great if someone else had written them; they fade only beside the raw strength of the first-named ones. "Hey Sailor, What Ship?" tells of an alcoholic seaman who cannot survive ashore and who yet seeks the warmth of a family; it tells also of the limitations and cruelties and affections of the family trying to hold on to an earlier time's hope and community.

In "O Yes" there is a marvelous evocation of the black religious experience: "The crucified Christ embroidered on the starched white curtain leaps in the wind of the sudden singing"; "You not used to hearing what people keeps inside, Carol"; and a depiction of the snob and class pressures that drive apart two 12-year-old girls, one black, one white. The white girl doesn't want to be oppressed by life; "Why is it like this and why do I have to care?" Her mother knows, but is helpless with her own unassuaged needs, as she answers, inside to herself, "Caring asks doing. It is a long baptism into the seas of humanity."

Olsen's women alternatively reject and demand the full intensity of life. They are conscious, terrifyingly frighteningly conscious, and it is this that makes their pain and ours. Mortality presses on them with an awful weight, the finiteness of the human animal as opposed to the infinitude of the human spirit, or even to the possibilities of the human being. *"Humankind one has to believe."* And we feel with Lennie, Eva's son, "for that in her which never lived (for that which in him might never live) . . . *good-bye Mother who taught me to mother myself.*"

What is wonderful is that, engaged, feminist, Olsen's work is also utterly transcendent—a contradiction of the art-for-art's sake purists. Though the subject matter may be autobiographical, the author is everywhere and nowhere; this is indeed writing that consumes all impediments; incandescent, it glows and it burns. Read the stories; they will not be forgotten. □

'The Old Masters Disagree'

THE POETRY OF RANDALL JARRELL. *By Suzanne Ferguson. Louisiana State University Press. 247 pp. $8.95.*

JEROME MAZZARO
Mr. Mazzaro teaches at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He is the author of Transformations in the Renaissance English Lyric *(Cornell University Press) as well as a book of poems,* Changing the Windows *(Ohio University Press).*

By the end of his life, *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* and *The Interpretation of Dreams* were recommended reading for Randall Jarrell's classes and his friends and his family, and his own essays owed almost as much to Freud as they did to Goethe and Arnold. Mrs. Jarrell reports that "the volumes of our *Collected Papers* [were] strewn with little bent page corners and our Jones' *Life and Work* . . . smeared with lemonade and tennis sweat . . . and the coincidence that Randall and Freud shared the same birthday was, in his word, 'astronomical.'" Some of this interest in Freud on Jarrell's part began when he was an undergraduate psychology major at Vanderbilt, but W. H. Auden's early poetry had provided the stimulus that Jarrell needed to shape that interest into a body of serious and substantial poems.

Suzanne Ferguson's *The Poetry of Randall Jarrell* shows that the Auden influence had pretty much left Jarrell's poetry by the mid-1940s. By then he had not only written two long essays on the English poet but a number of reviews as well, objecting to his late moralizing as a way of using fantasy to avoid reality and reform. Jarrell's own generalizations began to dissolve into the individual incidents of the war poems. Flyers fought to take on individual names; airfields became the dust, the songs, the formations, the jokes, the games of waiting out the hours to one's eventual symbolic, if not actual destruction. Jarrell may have been indebted to Ernie Pyle for learning to value facts. He praises Pyle in a *Nation* obituary for his ability to see life "only faintly and not wanting to see at all." The war poems, in any case, provided the eventual break with Auden's poetic practice—accepted again when *The Shield of Achilles* appeared. After that, Auden remained in the background for Jarrell; Freud was never in the background.

A late poem like "The Old and the New Masters" can be read as a modification of the English poet's earlier "Musée des Beaux Arts." Auden had contended that the great artists were never wrong in placing suffering "in a corner" of their work, leaving the center to someone else "eating or opening a window or just walking dully along." Jarrell asserts that "the old masters disagree." He traces the history of art to a concluding attack on Abstract Expressionism. The basis of this attack, not clear in the poem, is made clear in his essay, "The Age of the Chimpanzee." There, using the same Georges de la Tour painting on which the poem began, he estab-

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TO HER LOVER

The Eucalyptus sheds
its bark in thin strips
as though it had been flayed,
and the snake moves
with who knows what difficulty
out of its once perfect skin.
Even our whidah bird
in its cheap, pet shop cage
loses one tail,
then grows another.
If there is a lesson here,
I will not learn it,
though you amputate my arms
almost sadly
from around your neck.

Linda Pastan

shes the Freudian fabric of his poetics. rt contains "the symptomatic gestures f psychoanalysis, half the expression of wish and half the defence against the vish." He goes on to oppose such art to bstract Expressionism's using only "one art of this process." It substituted for a ind of artistic superego and id "a homo- eneous, homophonic" technique.

Elsewhere he explains that "reading *Grimm's Tales* tells someone what we're ike, inside, just as reading Freud tells im," and the folktale motifs that run hrough the poetry can be read as another vay that Freud enters the writing. One ate poem, *"Deutsch Durch Freud,"* even laims to have learned to love German hrough the offices of the good doctor. But "Jerome," as Mrs. Jarrell points out n her Introduction to *Jerome: The Biog- aphy of a Poem*, offers perhaps the fullest tatement of the interrelationships of sychoanalysis and art. It depicts a com- ination psychoanalyst-writer-saint. As n analyst, the subject tries to come to terms with the id (the lion). He wrestles with this id in the form of night, is changed to it, and after a long time changes it. At dawn, having become the saint's lion as earlier he had been the saint, he sees the saint as a kind of Rilkean poet being dictated to by an angel, an "angel up into whose face" the poet looks, but to whom the angel does not speak. Later, again the analyst, the subject offers a lump of liver to a zoo lion.

Such poetry, along with the critical writing, formed a kind of teaching, and Miss Ferguson rightly pictures Jarrell not as a born poet but as a born teacher: "He taught everyone: his friends, his teachers, his students, his wife, his readers. Anything he learned, if it interested him, he was soon teaching." Still, at one corner of this picture lies the poet of suffering, of "*Seele im Raum*," "Cinderella," "The Woman at the Washington Zoo," and of the poignantly effective last volume, *The Lost World*. Here the mind that Robert Lowell once called "little boyish, disembodied, and brittle" embarrasses one with its unearthly quickness as if one had to be as ashamed of his body as Jarrell's government worker was of her print dress. But it never was the poet's intent to separate the mind and body, to reduce life to any homogeneous process, but always, as he said, to remain dialectic, to plant trees even if one suspected that the world would end tomorrow.

Miss Ferguson's reading of the poems, arranged chronologically by volume, is generous, sensitive and often enlightening. She is especially good in the matters of folklore and literary influence, and she is impeccable in her judgments of which poems deserve notice. Anyone starting out to read the poet would be well advised to refer to her volume. At times, however, it lacks the venturesomeness needed to pursue the wit and jokes of the poems. It is a pity, too, that she has not chosen to correlate more of Jarrell's prose with his verse, but as it stands, *The Poetry of Randall Jarrell* provides an excellent background for a serious revaluation of a difficult but always rewarding writer. □

Chile—Reform Without Class War?

THE CHILEAN REVOLUTION: Conversations with Allende. *By Régis Debray. Pantheon Books. 201 pp. $6.95. Paper $1.95.*

PETER MOSCOSO-GONGORA
Mr. Moscoso-Góngora is associate editor of the Paris Review. *The winner of the first Book-of-the-Month Club Fellowship, he is now at work on a novel.*

Shortly after his release from imprisonment by the Bolivian Government, Régis Debray interviewed the new Marxist President of Chile, Salvador Allende. The author of the well-known book on political revolution, *Revolution in the Revolution?*, Debray had participated with Che Guevara in the fiasco that ended in Guevara's death. It must have seemed especially ironic to him, as an ultra-leftist stressing armed struggle over political tactics, that Allende could have succeeded where Guevara had failed, and done so within the framework of the electoral process.

Chile's election of a Marxist head of state—this "Revolution without rifles"—is a unique affair, and for Debray, hard to comprehend; it is against the rules for the bourgeoisie to have handed over power to a Marxist unless they had exhausted every possibility and were trapped by their own legality. Debray knows that this is in fact what happened, and with obvious irony, quotes *Le Monde* to Allende, on the civilized and stylish manner in which "Marxism is settling comfortably into the seat hitherto occupied by the bourgeois democrats." Allende replies by recounting the sordid record: the bourgeoisie's calculated withdrawals of funds from banks in an attempt to create financial panic; the speech of the outgoing Minister of Finance threatening monetary ruin; the "second phase," with the bombing of public buildings, monuments, private houses, offices; the bombs planted at Santiago's international airport; and, of course, the assassination of the army commander in chief. During all of this, the Right vehemently protests Allende's personal security measures, while sending armed thugs to shoot up his house. And today, the latifundists are smuggling arms into the country; the communications media remain firmly in the

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hands of the bourgeoisie; radio, newspapers, television ignore or distort governmental announcements and decrees.

It is neither stylish nor civilized. Nonetheless, in the face of the illegal tactics of the opposition, Allende chooses legality, and it is this which so frightens Régis Debray. Does not the use of the legal system of the bourgeois state in effect tie the hands of the user? From such legal beginnings, is it possible to accomplish anything more than reformism? Ultimately, Debray is convinced, Allende will be faced with the historical alternative: revolution or counterrevolution.

The patrician history of Chilean government, its internally developed (though later, foreign-dominated) capitalism which emphasizes an internal market, its developed bourgeoisie which needs no army to enforce its rule, the union of Marxist theory and the national workers' movement (so that the Communist Party and revolutionary organizations emerged among the workers themselves rather than at the behest of a vanguard of intellectuals far away in the capital city)—these are the known facts of Chile's idiosyncratic history. Here the workers created their own proletarian consciousness.

Still, how was it possible that "The Congress, in Plenary Session, confirmed the result of the election and President Allende was able to take office on 4 November 1970"? Debray cannot offer an explanation for this strange turnover of power. One is to be found in the conduct of the German Social Democrats, Wels, Schumacher, Breitscheidt, who informed Hindenburg that Hitler should be given power so that he might ruin himself. Stalin was to come to a similar conclusion.

But Salvador Allende is not about to ruin himself. Despite Debray's pessimism, his achievements are significant. He has created a National Peasant Council, expropriated an important textile company, nationalized steel, coal, the banks, and of course, copper.

In this Marxist sparring match, the contestants are on a par. Allende's actual accomplishments are many, Debray's scored points high. The writer reminds Allende that he holds only executive power, legislative or judicial power, and not the apparatus of police power. "The popular forces have not conquered power, they have merely taken a few forward lines of fortifications in the direction of power."

Debray is provocative and provoking, sometimes without much foresight. He fails to see that Allende is wise in planning to compensate the former owners of nationalized industries; he is protecting his country from possible invasion. And if Fidel calls the OAS "a brothel," it is, Allende pointedly remarks, because he was thrown out of it. Chile has no intentions of provoking the United States.

What Salvador Allende is counting on is the development of participatory democracy in Chile. Debray, while continuing to stress the necessity of armed struggle as *the* way in the rest of Latin America, acknowledges the possibility of Allende's methods working in Chile.

Crucial to the survival of Chilean socialism, is the question: Can Marxism today win its case legally—against enemies willing to combat it illegally? If so, class war is no longer inevitable. There will be struggle, dislocation, contradictions, uneven development. But Salvador Allende is staking everything on the hope that the masses of workers, peasants and shopkeepers will prove equal to realizing the ideal of an egalitarian society. □

CIRCLE
(for P. Jostrom)

Ah, vanity. I've
taken down my shirts
and the new, striped shirts
down from the shelves.
It's time to rip them into
lengths, to stuff them
in the cracked window
glass, and to cofferdam
the door with rags.
I don't want to see you,
It's impossible for me.
That's my
reason for this chalked
circle around the bed.

Robert Kaven

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

In the early 1960s the so-called second generation of Abstract Expressionists weakened and collapsed as a group. These were artists who had taken the gestural paintings of de Kooning and Franz Kline as their model (an exhibition at the Whitney Museum of "Free Form Abstraction," until April 9, samples the period convincingly). Emerging as the second generation declined were other painters whose point of departure was another aspect of Abstract Expressionism, the field painting of Newman and Rothko. This art, based on color, not on gesture or line, prospered through the sixties, but there are signs now that it is in crisis. Evidence for this is in the exhibitions this season of new work by Kenneth Noland, Helen Frankenthaler and Jack Bush (all at André Emmerich) and Frank Stella (Lawrence Rubin). Stella is independent of the others but like them is regarded as a true heir of modernism; in the United States, the term modernism has shrunk to refer to a kind of abstract painting dependent on color and without drawing or tonal shadow.

This view of art is based, in part, on the early writings of Clement Greenberg. I say early because he has published nothing of consequence for ten years, though his opinions have been amplified and administered by younger followers, headed by Michael Fried. This school equates the art of painting with a highly specialized use of the medium. To quote Greenberg: "The unique and proper area of competence of each art coincided with all that was unique to the nature of the medium" (1960). From this it follows that "the irreducible essence of pictorial art consists in but two constitutive conventions or norms: flatness and the delimitation of flatness" (1962). Thus painting is edited of everything except hue, and this is applied preferably by pouring or staining so as to avoid the kind of hand marks that could turn into drawing. Greenberg's argument was based on a reading of the work of Pollock, Still, Newman and Rothko, but once the principle was formulated he turned it into a historical imperative.

Jack Bush is a minor member of the group bunched around the common center of Greenberg's aesthetics, but his work is representative of a shared difficulty. His new paintings suggest the exhaustion of the style; following Noland and Frankenthaler, he has moved to a less rigorous and less unified image than before. The new paintings all present a scatter of small forms on a field of color which begins just inside the canvas. These rough-edged fields, suspended within the picture, are dappled and speckled pink, gray, light blue or soft green. They are overlaid by calligraphic signs (loops, ticks, commas, dashes, curls) derived from middle-period Gottlieb. They are flat and matt in contrast to the aerated color surface. Thus the calligraphy is clearly on top, up front, and the color field is unmistakably recessive, a background. This separation goes against the holistic definition of painting in which foreground and background distinctions are dissolved in a single spatial flow. A similar separation of elements is revealed in Frankenthaler's new work, in which a subsystem of lines is imposed on the primary structure of color. Both artists are introducing divisive forms into a unified color surface.

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Noland's recent work also registers an increase of visual intricacy: he is using kind of plaid structure, in which colored lines cross one another against a hazy, cloudy background. Not only does the plaid cut the picture into larger and smaller sections but the large color plane is definitely consigned to serving as background. Frank Stella began in the late 1950s with a rejection of "relational painting, i.e., the balancing of the various parts with and against each other." Thus he dispensed with the contrast of hierarchic forms of different shapes and sizes in pictures. His use of monochrome and of modules was part of a plan to reduce the spectacle of diversity. In his new works, however, he has abandoned his usual systematic mode and opted for a zany interplay of relational form. His tapering wedgelike forms overlap hectically, gouging out spatial illusions and implying a directional thrust, as if the pictures were diagrams of forces, as in an Art Deco mural. Thus we have a revival of relational form in Stella's work and a revival of foreground-background relationships in the others. These constitute a drastic revision of the holistic aesthetic that Stella in his way and Greenberg in his have respectively acted on and promoted through the sixties.

These changes have in common the fact that a traditionally eventful space is being substituted for the homogeneous space of the 1960s. Instead of treating the picture as itself a single image, the artists have increased the range of incident by opening out and dividing the picture plane, as well as by returning to composition conceived as the arrangement of unlike parts. The different routes of individual development have led all the artists discussed here to the kind of internal richness that their work of the sixties began by dismissing. Holistic structure, the great formal discovery of postwar American painting, is no longer being followed up by these artists, who are setting it aside for garrulous and episodic styles. Simple forms of complexity are taking the place of a complex form of simplicity.

Whatever it may be that has prompted the artists to change their styles, there is no doubt of their increasing dissatisfaction with Greenberg's version of formalism, an aesthetic that some of them had accepted. One sign of this is an article by Leo Steinberg in the March *Artforum* called "Reflections on the State of Criticism." It is a sharp attack on "the stripping down of artistic value to the single determinant of formal organization." Steinberg points out that according to Greenberg's doctrine of specialization, three-dimensional space belongs "properly" to sculpture, and iconography to literature. When Greenberg makes "the coincidence of flattened color with its material support" the historically determined test of art, he refers only to one-half of the matter. It is true that each art has its appropriate operations and traditions, which are often a source of meaning; but to leave it at that fails to take account of expression and iconography. □

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

Kathryn Posin is small, with chunky muscular thighs and a sturdy behind that protrudes. She does not have a dancer's body, even by the relatively flexible standards of modern dancers. Despite her smallness and pretty face, she looks a little like a toughie, and her muscles look as though they've been through plenty of rough and tumble action. Her choreography, much of which has been solos for herself, makes a calculated use of her physical type, and the effect is often startling and pungent. Dancing is physical labor, it makes unnatural demands upon the body, and it subjects the body to abuse. That is the dominant theme of her choreography, and her own body is perhaps the proof of it.

From March 10 to 12 Posin presented *Prism*, an evening-long work for herself and company, at the American Theatre Laboratory. *Prism* was sponsored by Dance Theatre Workshop, a mecca for dancers and choreographers and at whose school Posin teaches. The highlights of *Prism* are the solos for Posin. The first is an exercise in balance. Her body, especially her legs, tremble and sometimes shake almost out of control. One unsteady step follows another. She teeters backward and forward. The effort to remain upright is so monumental that you know if she falls it will be equally monumental, with a horrible thud. In this dance Posin does not fall, but the triumph is atypical. In the following "White" section, to some lovely Boccherini, that which is never supposed to happen to dancers happens. Two women, each standing on one leg, clasp the hands of a middle man and pull sideways tautly. He lets them go and they crash to the floor in ugly splits. It is at once amusing —the ultimate goof in partnering—and brutal. Even when the episode is repeated with two men, it retains its shock, and you still wonder if they will be able to get up in one piece.

The second solo, called "Grey," is the nub of Posin's style. Here she grapples with a wastepaper basket. She forces herself into it head first, feet first. She does a headstand in it and then keels over on her back in a splattering fall. As an antiflourish, the basket topples and covers her head. She crawls on the floor, dragging the basket with her by her foot. She sticks out her backside and bounces the basket on it. She stands in it and rotates it and her body by swinging her shoulders around violently. When she is not matching muscle and wits with the basket, she finds the challenge in her own body. She drags herself across the floor with arm power, her legs trailing behind like dead weight. Crossing her legs, she tries to bend them inward. She experiments with unmanageable leg extensions and collapses to the floor. She is always setting up impossible situations; she almost but not quite finds a solution, and ends up battered but not mangled. Psychological and Job-like philosophical implications hover around her dancing, and in other solos they seem to be explicitly developed. The focus of *Prism*, however, is on the sheer physicality of movement. That it is perilous and verges on the grotesque or ugly is Posin's unique vision. Most important, she has been able to turn this point of view into a tour de force. With her dogged determination to use herself as a punching bag and her inventiveness in creating either stalemates or checkmates, she makes a virtuoso display of sweaty struggle. Her dancing is too scrappy to be heroic, but the same quality saves her from being pathetic.

Posin has developed a style in part out of her own body—perhaps personality too. But she has not yet found an

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equally personal way of handling others. *Prism* is therefore best when Posin is dancing.

I remember staring at the moon wtih different eyes on the night that people were walking on it for the first time. These days any picture of China—even its nondescript Peking airport—takes on a special fascination, and so it was with the March 12th television show of the Peking Ballet's *Red Detachment of Women*. Here was a first, extended view of contemporary Chinese culture, something that, with a little imagination, one can almost hear Chinese families talking about over dinner, and, indeed, something that the President saw.

Delighting in tangible evidence of a remote, glamorous and newly "discovered" China might sustain one through the first act of the ballet, after which boredom is inevitable. For the choreography is simple, simple-minded and repetitious. In part the Russians are responsible for that, because their choreographic influence is total. And yet the Chinese have exaggerated several Russian characteristics, making their product not only unsophisticated but oppressive. There is often a lack of continuity in Russian dancing (at least, there has been). In the *Red Detachment* the dancing is in fits and starts. The dancer does a few steps and then either runs to another part of the stage or falls into pantomime. Each step is frozen, an entity unto itself. The heavily outlined movement in Russian ballet is here intensified. Fists are clenched, arms are always thrust out, heads jerk from side to side. In the big jumps, the arched back and back leg meet with the ferocity of a whip hitting the floor. The women do not step onto the points of their toe shoes toe-first but bounce onto them from a flat foot. They create the illusion that they are dancing on straight legs. There is absolutely no lyricism; the pulse is rat-a-tat-tat. Of course, the feel of this bayonet-charging choreography might be politically inspiring, but that is moot, even if one tries to imagine what it would be like to be living in a newly born country with imposed common goals. It *is* hard on the nerves. One wants some respite from the thick, black globs of movement and, by extension, the Message.

Even from a political standpoint, *Red Detachment* is not as revolutionary as it might be, and not far removed from the fairy-tale world view from which ballet springs. The very structure of the narrative is traditional. We are told a story of an individual (peasant or aristocrat, it makes little difference), rather than a group, and we witness the victory of the Red Army through her eyes, although the moral of the story is that to be effective one must act out of group, not personal, motivation. The protagonist is a true 19th-century heroine and is given the Horatio Alger treatment; no matter that her mentor is Mao. When she finally meets her former master in battle, she engages him first in hand-to-hand fighting and only then kills him. Yet a real revolutionary would kill in cold blood, not needing the justification of self-defense or even battle. To carry it a step further, how much purer the story would have been ideologically had the evil master been killed by another woman, leaving the heroine to experience the same degree of joy without the personal satisfaction of having killed him herself. Finally, a little scene of comic relief—the soldiers take a break and frolic with an old fisherman—is a direct descendant of the scene in *Swan Lake*, where the court ladies tease the prince's old tutor. Both episodes are self-consciously lighthearted and revel in patronizing camaraderie wtih a lovable old (and lower-class) chap. You see, even proletarian soldiers and court ladies are democrats—"nice folk." Two interesting points: there was no textual fuss about the fact that the soldiers were women (although they were led by a man); and there was no supported movement between men and women. The Chinese might consider that a man partnering a woman is too sexual. On the other hand, they might think it utterly bourgeois. If the latter, the Peking Ballet is a major break with traditional ballet.

With such restrictive choreography, it is not possible to know what the Chinese dancers can do. The heroine can lift her leg very high, and has a beautiful jump and good balance. But neither she nor the others dance in flowing, musically phrased, or varied patterns, by which we in the West are accustomed to appraise dancers. □

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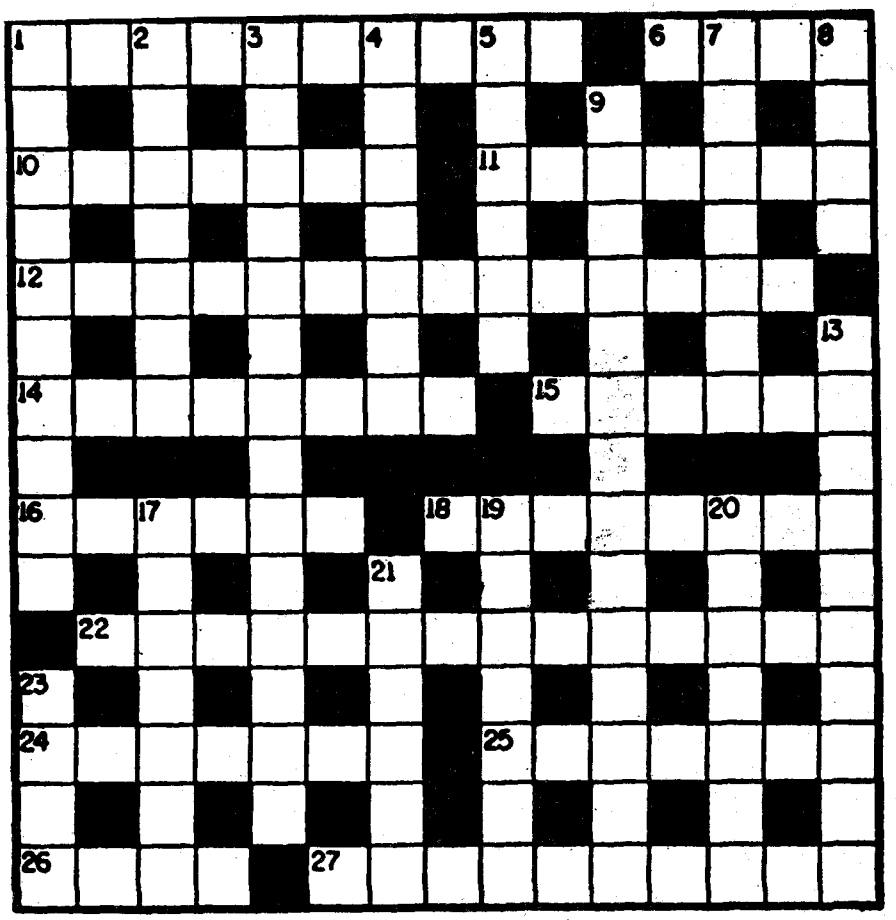
FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 15 across The D.C. type isn't with it, as they say, in New York. (10,6)
6 Church desk of Cambodia? (4)
10 Thrust on others, as I seem to be set by the photographer. (7)
11 One or two to make it green? (7)
12 Cons the shopper into a glowing description of it? (14)
14 Going out of business in a modest way? (8)
15 See 1 across.
16 Barney is close, obviously. (6)
18 I come and scramble like the devil! (8)
22 A more apt term than the service alternative, according to some customers! (7,7)
24 Turns to stare, perhaps. (7)
25 Father is caught in a falsehood, and it might make quite a sight. (7)
26 A bag of British fire. (4)
27 Ours is supposed to be centered in 1 across. (10)

DOWN

1 The old song favorite might be a little hard to understand. (10)
2 Hold up the opposite of "wine and dine"? (7)
3 If anything has it, one can hardly get over it. (14)
4 Ran good and bad as a carved molding. (7)
5 Twist possibly a hot wire in an alternative position. (6)
7 Fuchsin handler in a certain degree. (7)
8 They might have been shipped afterwards, if you went by water. (4)
9 Not one of Bartlett's run-of-the-mill offerings appearing on the financial page. (5,9)
13 Going down! (10)
17 A slight tremor on the continent, caused by an easterner? (7)
19 Invest in bonds? (7)
20 Indulge in the sincerest flattery? (7)
21 Did such organization bother us once? (6)
23 8 sounds as though the answer could be refined. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1436

ACROSS: 1, 16 and 10 No man can serve two masters; 11 Orbital; 13 Zoroaster; 14 Nehru; 19 Prattler; 22 Tilde; 28 and 2 Grandma Moses; 29, 26 and 12 The Wars of the Roses; 30 Siding; 31 Editress. DOWN: 1, 24 and 5 Name, rank and serial number; 3 Needs must; 4 Assizes; 6 Umbra; 7 Bath towel; 8 Rulers; 9 Horror; 15 Hired hand; 17 Extrovert; 18 Reverses; 20 Laical; 21 Related; 23 Ranges; 25 End on; 27 Trade.

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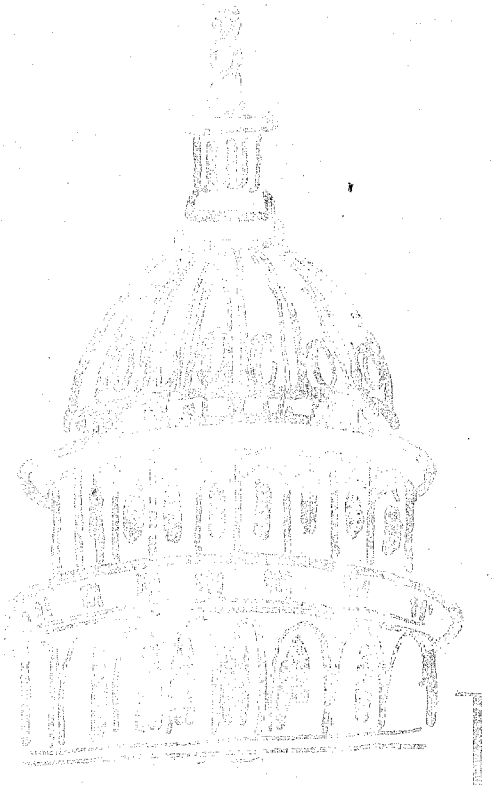

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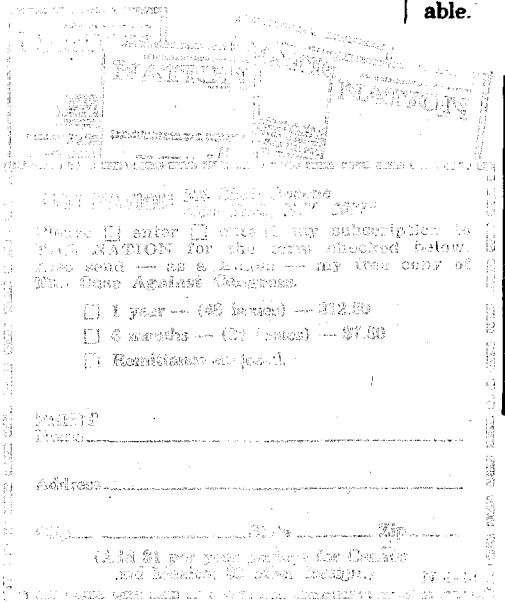

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